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AUTHOR	Lambright, W. Henry; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This document contains the full text of ten case studies prepared by the Syracuse Research Corporation for the purpose of examining the organizational processes involved in effective educational innovation at the school district level. Innovations in two urban districts were examined. In the Syracuse City School District these innovations involved the following: responses to the need for educating children with handicapping conditions, the availability of computers for both instructional and and administrative purposes, the adoption of a house plan in an urban junior high school, the creation of magnet schools, the use of paraprofessionals, an attempt to create large educational complexes in campus settings at the elementary and secondary levels, and considerations of racial balance. In the Rochester City School District nine innovative programs were included under the umbrella of Project Unique. Those described in these case studies emphasize the program permitting urban children from Rochester to attend schools in neighboring suburban districts, and vice versa. An examination of the residual effects of Project Unique is also presented. Information about decision-making and coalition-building in educational organizations provided by these studies is analyzed in volume I of the report. (PGD)

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EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AS A PROCESS OF COALITION-BUILDING: A STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

Volume II: Case Studies of Educational Innovations in Rochester and Syracuse, New York

Report
to the
National Institute of Education
Department of Education
by the
Syracuse Research Corporation
Merrill Lane
Syracuse, New York

Principal Investigator:
W. Henry Lambright

Senior Investigator:
Patrick J. Hennigan

Project Manager:
Susan W. Hayes

Project Team:
Marguerite A. Beardsley
J. Barron Boyd
Elma B. Boyko
Thomas A. Dorsey
Paul J. Flynn
Andrew M. McGreevy
Carl M. Spencer

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A

ADAPTIVE INNOVATION: THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT AND EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH HANDICAPPING CONDITIONS

by

J. Barron Boyd

(Footnotes on p. A-23)

ADAPTIVE INNOVATION: THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT AND EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH HANDICAPPING CONDITIONS

When the federal "Education for All Handicapped Children Act" (P.L. 94-142) was enacted in 1975, it mandated that the states must provide a "free and appropriate" public education for all children with handicapping conditions by 1978. This legislation and subsequent state laws began a flurry of innovations throughout the country as the state and local educational establishments attempted to come into compliance. The Syracuse City School District was not immune and almost immediately began to alter its programs. The district's effort to come into compliance with the law through a wide-ranging set of innovations forms a particularly interesting case of adaptive innovation to mandated change.

Some change in the educational policies pertaining to handicapped children had been in the works for a number of years before P.L. 94-142. In 1971, the U. S. District Court had ordered the State of Pennsylvania, in Pennsylvania Association for the Retarded v. Commonwealth, to provide public education for all children regardless of handicap. In Mills v. Board of Education (1972), this principle was extended to the District of Columbia with the additional proviso that a lack of funds for handicapped educational programs was no excuse for inaction. Between 1971 and 1976, similar suits were brought in twenty-five states.

Even before Chapter 853 of the New York State Education Law was enacted in 1976 to implement the regulations of P.L. 94-142, New York had begun to move on the handicapped education front. In 1973, Commissioner of Education Ewalt Nyquist, acting in response to a class action suit on behalf of a group of brain-damaged students, decreed that an "adequate and appropriate" education must be provided for all New York students with handicapping conditions.

In spite of such signals and in spite of the rather limited changes that were implemented in response to Nyquist's 1973 order, the mandates of P.L. 94-142 and Ch. 853 caused the city school district to innovate on a grand scale between 1976 and 1978 when most of the law's provisions took full effect. An assessment of the effort needed to meet the demands of the law is provided in the following statement by H. Thomas Clift, Director of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions of the Syracuse City School District, taken from a 1979 report:

> It is important to note here that the era of legal compliance in the education of the handicapped seemed to come upon us suddenly. The speed and support that was required to come to compliance taxed every department in the Syracuse City School District; diverting necessary finances, calling upon staff to understand and assist, and requiring that all people quickly make up for a history of not serving all handicapped children.[1]

Thus, between 1976 and 1979, the school district expended a massive effort to innovate in its treatment of handicapped students in an effort to meet the mandates of both state and federal law. The specific provisions of the resulting program, hence the innovations adopted, are detailed in the following segment of this report.

The approach of the Syracuse City School District to the education of children with handicapping conditions is based upon the provisions of P.L. 94-142 and Chapter 853 of the New York State Education Law. The two basic points of these laws, hence the two guiding principles of the district's special education effort, are that a free and appropriate education be provided for each handicapped child in the district between the ages of 3 and 21 and that this education be offered in the "least restrictive environment." Under the law, the educational services which are provided the child must match the specific needs dictated by the child's handicap. Moreover, the law requires that the child not be removed from participation in regular classroom activities any more than is necessary as a result of the child's disability. To attain both of these goals, the district must not only provide special educational programs, but it also must implement a series of procedures to locate and diagnose each child so that he or she may be placed in the appropriate program in the least restrictive environment. In addition, all of this must be done in a manner that protects both the rights of the children and the parents.

Consequently, the following substantive components comprise the Syracuse City School District's special education effort:

(1) Location of children with handicapping conditions;
(2) Evaluation of children with handicapping conditions;
(3) Placement of children in the proper programs;
(4) The educational programs themselves; and
(5) Guarantees of due process for children and parents.

Location of Children with Handicapping Conditions

Under state law, each school district must locate and identify all handicapped children from birth to age 21 who reside in the district. The specific method of locating such children is left up to the school district; however, the Syracuse City School District chose to participate in the Child Find program which was funded by New York State. Child Find provided a set of procedures used by a staff to locate children with handicaps who may have been overlooked in the past and children who have been kept out of school by their handicapping conditions.[2] In addition, Child Find provided the parents of handicapped children with information about their rights under the law.

It has long been recognized that one of the most difficult aspects of developing programs for the handicapped lies in locating the children who need services.[3] An accurate assessment of the number of students who need services is necessary to insure that those who need special education receive it and to facilitate planning for future needs. Before the federal and state mandates, rather gross estimates based upon a percentage of students in a school district were used for planning purposes.[4] Often, the number of students needing services exceeded these estimates; and, as a partial consequence of this, many children who needed services were placed on waiting lists. For example, the 1968-69 *Annual Report of the Syracuse City School District Special Education Department* indicates that 170 children were waiting to receive needed special education services.[5]

With the new laws, which require that all children who need services must be given them, it would no longer be possible to place children on waiting lists. Therefore, the Child Find effort was essential to insure both that the district was in compliance with the law and that services would be available to those who would need them in the future.

Evaluation of Children with Handicapping Conditions

Once handicapped children have been located, it is necessary to evaluate their individual conditions so that appropriate educational services can be provided. To that end, the city school district has developed diagnostic and referral procedures that are used for each child.[6]

When concern about a child is presented to the principal of a child's home school, the principal meets with the school's Pupil Services Team. This group, composed of the principal, a school social worker or guidance counselor, the school nurse, the school psychologist, a parent, and one or more teachers, first attempts to find an option within the school building that will be sufficient to manage the problem (i.e., a new teacher, tutorial help, a reading or mathematics laboratory). Subsequent to this meeting, if the child's parent, a professional staff member of the district, or a physician believe that a handicapping condition exists that is severe enough to warrant special education services, the school has a responsibility to determine the eligibility of a child and to classify him/her for placement in a proper program.

After parental consent is secured, data on the child and his/her condition is collected. This data includes a social history of the child, a medical report, an individual psychological examination, an achievement profile, Hahnemann Graphs (a behavior-rating scale) in three major subject areas, and a teachers report. Using this data, a Local School Committee on the Handicapped (LSCOH), composed of at least an administrator or teacher of special education, a school psychologist, medical personnel, and a parent of a handicapped student who lives in the district, will discuss the child. If the LSCOH decides that the child has a handicap and that he/she is in need of special education services, then a recommendation is sent to a district subcommittee on the handicapped.* This statement specifies the handicapping condition, the special education components that are necessary to test the condition, and any related services that might be required.

The district subcommittee then reviews the data, insures that it is complete, and affirms recommendations about placement in a program. If the subcommittee determines that the handicap is clear, it refers the student to the Department of Children with Handicapping Conditions for placement. If doubt remains about the handicap, the matter is referred back to the LSCOH for resolution of the concerns expressed by the subcommittee. Ultimate authority to place a child in a program rests with the Board of Education, which acts on the recommendations of the Committee on the Handicapped at its regular meetings.

Once a child's case is referred to the Department of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions, a proper placement determination must be made within 30 days. Unless the parents of the child object to the placement decision and/or the recommendations of the Committee on the Handicapped, placement is within ten days of the parents' receipt of a letter of placement notification.

Such mandated procedures are designed to assure that children with handicapping conditions will be thoroughly evaluated so that they will be placed in an appropriate educational program. As will be discussed in a later section on due process, parents are involved in each stage of this process. In addition, each placement must be reviewed on a yearly basis.

Placement of Children in Proper Programs

When the Department of Children with Handicapping Conditions makes a placement, it is guided initially by the legal definitions of handicapping conditions provided by the New York State Department of Education. The conditions and their definitions are as follows:

A. TRAINABLE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED (TMH)

DEFINITION: a child who, on the basis of a comprehensive evaluation, such evaluation to include an individual psychological examination, is determined to possess general intellectual capacity that falls lower than three standard deviations below the mean of the general population, cannot profit from programs established for the educable mentally retarded, but may be expected to profit from special programs for the trainable.

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*Because the Syracuse City School District has more than 200 handicapped students, it is allowed to use subcommittees of the larger Committee on the Handicapped (which the state requires in each district). In Syracuse, these subcommittees are broken down in the following manner:

(1) One subcommittee to evaluate students who are handicapped for mental reasons;
(2) One subcommittee to evaluate students who are handicapped for emotional reasons; and
(3) Two subcommittees for students with physical handicaps.

B. MULTIPLY HANDICAPPED (PHYSICAL AND MENTAL)

DEFINITION: a child who, because of the multiplicity of his handicapping conditions requires intervention by more than one certified specialist in the area of education of the handicapped. For purposes of this section, visually impaired children shall be included, but those children whose second handicap is solely in the area of other speech/language impaired shall not be included.

C. EDUCABLE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED (EMH)

DEFINITION: a child who, on the basis of a comprehensive evaluation, such evaluation to include an individual psychological examination, is determined to possess general intellectual capacity that falls lower than 1.5 standard deviations below the mean of the general population, cannot profit from regular classroom instruction, but may be expected to profit from a special education program.

D. SEVERELY MULTIPLY HANDICAPPED (MENTAL AND PHYSICAL)

DEFINITION: a child who, because of the multiplicity of his handicapping conditions, requires intervention by more than one certified specialist in the area of education of the handicapped. For purposes of this section, visually impaired children shall be included, but those children whose second handicap is solely in the area of other speech/language impaired shall not be included. Multiply handicapped includes severely to profoundly handicapped children who function at a level that precludes their benefitting from a program for a trainable mentally handicapped.

E. SEVERELY MULTIPLY HANDICAPPED (AUTISTIC)

DEFINITION: a child who exhibits highly disturbing and inappropriate behaviors that are so severe that the child is unable to relate to other children, has severe communication problems, is noncommunicative with autistic characteristics, who requires individual or small group instruction and, in addition, needs the support of clinical services.

F. DEVELOPMENTALLY HANDICAPPED (DH)

DEFINITION: a child 5 to 6 years of age who exhibits lags within his/her own performance due to developmental delays and exhibits two or more observable, measurable handicapping conditions which may include emotional distrubance, severe speech and/or language impairment and/or other combinations of disabilities. Specifically, the combination of handicapping conditions takes into account learning profiles, emotional factors, mental functioning, and severe language deficits.

The expectation is that with appropriate special programming the child will be able to return to a mainstreamed education program within a one to two year period.

G. SEVERELY EMOTIONALLY HANDICAPPED

DEFINITION: a child whose emotional disturbance is so severe that the child is unable to relate to other children and may have an absence of speech and, in addition, needs the support of clinical services. A severely emotionally disturbed child is one whose condition has been determined to be such by a school psychologist, a psychiatrist, or by an approved mental health clinic.

H. EMOTIONALLY HANDICAPPED (EH)

DEFINITION: a child whose condition has been determined to be such by a school psychologist, a psychiatrist, or an approved mental health clinic, who is unable to profit in the regular education programs without some form of special services or programs.

I. SPECIFIC LEARNING DISABLED (SLD)

DEFINITION: a child who exhibits a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which may manifest itself in an imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or to do mathematical calculations. The term includes such conditions as perceptual handicaps, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasis. The term does not include children who have learning problems which are primarily the result of visual, hearing, or motor handicaps, of mental retardation or emotional disturbance, or of environmental, cultural, or economic disadvantage. A child who exhibits a discrepancy of 50 percent or more between expected achievement based on his intellectual ability and actual achievement, determined on an individual basis, shall be deemed to have a severe learning disability.

J. NEUROLOGICALLY IMPAIRED (NI) - PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED (OTHER)

DEFINITION: a child with physical neurological impairment which results in the inability to benefit from the regular education program without some form of special services or programs.

K. SEVERELY SPEECH/LANGUAGE IMPAIRED
L. OTHER SPEECH/LANGUAGE IMPAIRED

DEFINITION: a child with unintelligible speech or inability to communicate verbally. Severely speech/language impaired does not include other speech/language impaired children who exhibit a reduced ability to acquire, use, or comprehend language; mild stuttering; vocal disorders, or articulation deviations.

M. DEAF - SEVERELY HANDICAPPED
N. HEARING IMPAIRED

DEFINITION: a child with a hearing handicap in the 40 and above decibel range (ISO) whose hearing loss precludes his functioning normally in a regular classroom situation without the supportive services of a resource program.

The handicapping condition must be determined by an audiological and physical examination.

O. BLIND - VISUALLY IMPAIRED
P. PARTIALLY SIGHTED

DEFINITION:

O. a legally blind child with the visual capacity of 20/200 or less in the better eye with the best correction, or a field of vision restricted to a 20 degree arc.

P. partially sighted - a child whose visual acuity in the better eye with best correction ranges between 20/70 and 20/200, including those children who can still function capably with their residual vision and who have a medically indicated progressive visual loss, or a recurring serious medical eye problem affecting acuity and operable eye diseases.

A recommendation from an ophthalmologist must accompany the referral.

Q. PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED: SEVERELY CRIPPLED & HEALTH IMPAIRED ORTHOPEDIC

DEFINITION: a child who manifests a condition which incapacitates the child and includes: a child who must function in a specially designed physical environment; needs medication intervention and/or maintenance; has orthopedic, neurological, and other medical conditions such as muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, poliomyelitis, spina bifida, etc., or has skeletal deformities such as club foot, congenital dislocation of the hip, scoliosis, bone cysts, tumors and accidents which result in the inability to benefit from regular education programs without some form(s) of special assistance.

By listing all categories of students in need of service, such definitions help administrators to provide a full range of programs within the district. In addition, they allow a point of origin for the placement process. However, if the child is to derive maximum benefit from his education, his/her placement should be based upon programmatic considerations rather than on a process of labeling. In other words, students should be placed in certain programs because they will benefit from them and not simply because of the character of their handicapping conditions.

If children are to be given the most appropriate education, they must be individually evaluated and placed in the special education program that most nearly meets their needs. The Individualized Education Program (IEP) is the instrument for such noncategorical placement as mandated in P.L. 94-143 and N.Y.S. Ch. 853. The IEP, completed as soon as possible after the child enters a special education program, summarizes the child's condition, sets goals for the child, explains the method to be used in the attainment of those goals, and establishes monitoring procedures to compare the child's progress to stated goals. Specifically, the IEP must, by law, include an assessment of the child's present level of educational performance. For example, the child's reading skills, his/her math skills, his/her language development, and the like, must be measured as accurately as possible. The IEP also specifies both the long- and short-range goals for the child in each major skill area. An effort is made to determine how much progress can reasonably be expected, in the long- and short-run, toward attainment of his/her goals.

The IEP indicates the specific educational services and instructional materials which are to be provided as part of the child's curriculum. A related part of the IEP defines the amount of time that a child will spend in regular education programs as well as an estimate of the duration of services. Finally, the IEP specifies the methods to be used in the annual assessment of the child's progress.

The IEPs are drawn up at a planning conference which includes the child's teacher, a special education teacher or supervisor, and the child's parents. If the child is entering special education programs for the first time, the planning conference must also include one of the professionals who initially evaluated him/her or a person who has a full understanding of the procedures that were used during the original classification procedure.

Once the IEP is completed, the next step is to place the child in an appropriate educational program which is geared to his/her individual needs. The various programs available in the city school district are outlined in a Guide to Special Education Programs.[8] Each program attempts to match the special services offered to the needs of a group of students while, at the same time, allowing enough flexibility to meet individual variations within groups. To illustrate, the following is a student profile of multiply handicapped (physical and mental) students found in the Guide to Special Education Programs.[9]

The student will exhibit some or all of these behaviors:

1. is not able to benefit from regular education programs;
2. falls behind academically;
3. has difficulty communicating;
4. has intelligence usually below average (IQ of 75 or below);
5. has withdrawn or "acting out" behavior;
6. has difficulty working independently;
7. lacks self-control;
8. has limited ability in moving about;
9. needs adaptive equipment.

Now, note the several aspects of the special program characteristics that follow:

1. class size geared to the needs of the students;
2. primarily self-contained classroom with mainstreaming in nonacademic areas;
3. a minimum of 30 minutes per day twice a week to a maximum of 1 hour per day 5 times a week with an additional appropriate certified specialist as determined by the Committee on the Handicapped;
4. curriculum emphasis will be appropriate for the child and may include:
    a. self-help skills
    b. language development
    c. daily living skills
    d. social behavior
    e. reading and math for daily living
    f. community skills training
    g. independence training
    h. self-awareness and self-esteem
    i. prevocational and vocational education.

It is evident that the program worked out to serve the multiply handicapped (mental and physical) attempts to meet group needs, but also tries to allow for individual differences among students within the group. To a greater or lesser degree, each program devised by the school district attempts the same. In this way, the special education program hopes to provide an "appropriate, free, public education" as mandated under P.L. 94-142.

Another facet of the above special program's characteristics illustrates the second fundamental aspect of the mandate. When the program indicates the degree of "mainstreaming" which will take place (in this case, only in nonacademic areas), it is responding both to federal and to state requirements that handicapped education take place in the "least restrictive environment." This means that handicapped children are no longer to be isolated and shunted aside; they are to be educated with the maximum amount of contact with the general school population that their conditions will allow.

In order to comply with this mandate, the district has devised a "continuum of services" comprised of eight stages, ranging from the most integrated to the most segregated. The eight stages are as follows:[10]

(1) Regular Classroom with Consultation. In this placement, the handicapped child remains in the regular education environment for the entire school day. The regular teacher retains major responsibility for instructional activities and makes modifications in the regular program in accordance with the educational plan developed for the child. Support services are provided to the teacher in the form of consultation by instructional specialists, psychologists, social work personnel, or others who can help maximize his capacity to serve the handicapped student appropriately in the regular classroom setting. This placement is expected to result in minimal discrimination of the child from non-handicapped peers and in maximal participation in activities of the regular classroom.

(2) Regular Classroom with Supportive Services. In this placement, also, the child remains in the regular education program, and the regular teacher retains major responsibility for instructional activities; but, support services are rendered directly to the handicapped child, rather than to the teacher. Services might include physical therapy, counselling services, or special instruction by an itinerant teacher. The schedule for delivery of supportive services is individually prescribed and may range from regular daily sessions to infrequent contacts occurring only when specifically requested or needed.

(3) Regular Classroom with Resource Room Support. Resource rooms provide an alternative for children who require more intensive support than is within the scope of the regular program. Typically, the handicapped student leaves the regular classroom for a portion of the school day to receive specialized instruction or supportive services from an appropriately trained specialist. The child attends the

resource room only for services which cannot be provided within the regular classroom. Services are individually prescribed and monitored according to specific goals and objectives of the child's educational plan. The intent of the resource room alternative is to maintain the child in the regular education program to the maximum extent appropriate. The key role of the resource room specialist is to fill the instructional or service gaps left by the regular education program and to consult and work closely with the regular classroom teachers who serve the child. Responsibility for the child's program is jointly shared by the regular teacher(s) and the resource teacher, with the resource teacher assuming major responsibility for planning and executing the activities specified in the educational plan.

(4) Part-time Special Class. In this alternative placement the child is integrated into the regular education program to the maximum extent possible, but a major portion of the day is spent out of the regular education class in a special self-contained class located within the regular public school facility. Supplementary instructional or supportive services are rendered by an appropriately qualified specialist on a more intense basis than in the resource room alternative. The handicapped child is assigned to a regular homeroom wherever possible and interacts with nonhandicapped peers in as many ways as is appropriate and in keeping with the individual educational plan. The major responsibility for planning and executing educational services, however, is usually borne by the special education teacher.

(5) Full-time Special Class. In this alternative placement, services are provided in a special self-contained class, located within the regular education facilities, which is composed entirely of handicapped children in need of special education. The child spends a large majority, if not all, of the school day in this setting with a special education teacher. The daily duration of the program is equal to that of the regular school day unless it is apparent that a shorter or longer duration is in the child's interest. Services are prescribed in the interest of increasing the amount of time the child spends in the mainstream with nonhandicapped peers.

(6) Special Day School. Services are provided within this alternative when the needs of the child call for a program which can be more effectively organized and delivered in a facility (public or private) that is separated from a regular education facility. Justification for such placement must be based on preponderant evidence that the benefits accrued through the programmatic offerings made possible by this separate setting offset the loss of opportunity for the child to be associated with nonhandicapped peers in a regular school setting. In choosing a particular special day school program, consideration must be given to geographic proximity to the child's home so that an inordinate amount of the child's time is not spent in transit to and from school. Services are provided in the interest of moving the child into a regular public school facility as soon as appropriate for the child, not the system.

(7) Residential School. Services are provided within this alternative when the needs of the child as specified by the education plan demand a 24-hour program in order to supplement the instructional activities with related, supportive, and habilitative services of an intensity which cannot effectively be delivered in the regular home and special day school environment. Priority for such program placement shall take into account geographic proximity to the child's home, with out-of-state placements being considered only after appropriate in-state alternatives have been exhausted.

(8) Home and Hospital Program. Service in the home or hospital alternative is a temporary provision, perceived as the most restrictive of programming alternatives, and is used only when the child's condition permits no other placement. Instruction is delivered by an itinerant teacher or by use of electronic equipment, and is scheduled at regular intervals which best meet the physical and instructional status of the child. Recommendations of a physician are usually an important consideration in planning and executing the instructional program.

Thus, through a combination of the IEP, individualized, noncategorical programs and the continuum of services, the school district attempts to comply both with P.L. 94-142 and with Chapter 853 of the New York State Education Law. The final component of the overall program concerns the guarantees of due process both for parents and for children.

Guarantees of Due Process for Parents and Children

Guarantees of due process are built into the system throughout. Before the process of referring children to special education programs can begin, the child's parents must give written permission for an evaluation to be conducted. Parents must be notified of the tests that will be conducted and the use to which such information will be put. If the parents do not consent to the evaluation, they can request an informal conference with the chief school officer to discuss the situation. If the parents are not satisfied with the results of this informal conference, they can request a review of the chief school officer's decision. Conversely, if the parents do not agree with the evaluation and fail to request a conference, the local school district must request a hearing to show that a need for the child's evaluation exists before it can proceed.

Parents are invited to attend and participate in those LSCOH meetings at which their child is discussed. They are invited to provide information which will help the LSCOH arrive at a placement decision and are informed that they may question the committee on the information that it hears and on the programs suggested. In addition, parents are informed that they may bring counsel or consultants to the meeting.

If the District Committee on the Handicapped decides that placement in a special education program is called for, it must give the parents the following information in writing:

a. a detailed description of the recommendation;
b. a list of the reasons for the recommendation;
c. a summary of the tests upon which the recommendation was based;
d. a statement about the availability of the child's records at a reasonable cost;
e. a statement about the parents' right to have an impartial hearing within 10 days if they disagree with the recommendation, and the procedures for such a hearing;
f. a statement about the parents' right to obtain an independent evaluation of the child, and where to find out about facilities for such an independent evaluation;
g. a statement informing the parent that, if a hearing is held, the child will remain in his/her present class unless he/she poses a danger to others or threatens disruption of the educational process.

If the case is an exceptional one or if out-of-district placement is required, the Committee on the Handicapped must meet with the parents. Since such determinations often require the use of outside advisors and/or the advice of parents not employed by the school district, a waiver must be signed by the parents before pertinent information may be disseminated to these non-employees.

In the event that parents disagree with the District Committee on the Handicapped recommendations, they have the right to request a formal hearing within 10 days after receipt of the objections.

If the parents object to the decision rendered by the impartial hearing, they have the right to appeal to the Commissioner of Education; and, should the appeal be denied, they have the right to go to federal or state court.[13]

If the parent is applying for initial admission of the child to the school system, the child must be placed in public school during the entire appeals process. If the challenge is based upon a change in placement for a child already in the system, the current placement of the child will remain in effect.

If the parent declines to accept the services of the Special Education Department and if the child cannot be maintained in a typical school environment, the Department of Special Education may initiate a hearing to force placement. The same procedures as above obtain for the hearing and appeals process.

Thus, by involving the parents at every stage of the process, by requiring their permission and/or cooperation, and by providing procedures for appeal, the State Department of Education and the local school district attempt to guarantee that the due process rights of the parents and children are protected.

All of the above procedures were carefully mandated in state and federal law. The Syracuse City School District had little choice in implementing these innovations and little latitude about the specifics of the new procedures. However, the district enjoyed greater latitude in devising programs for specific groups of handicapped children. While a general improvement in services offered to each type of handicapped student was mandated, the district was not given specific, detailed instructions about how to structure these programs. Therefore, it is in the programmatic innovations that the creativity of district officials will emerge, and it is in these innovations that the politics of forced innovation become clear.

In 1979, a summer program for adolescents with learning disabilities was established. This program attempts to prevent a regression in learning skills during the summer months which often characterizes learning-disabled adolescents. Also, in 1979, a special program was initiated to integrate autistic children and children without handicaps. Due to the nature of their difficulties, autistic children are not normally taught in a fully integrated environment. However, this program seeks to mainstream autistic students by using innovative pedagogical techniques. The district also has established a series of special classes for the developmentally delayed. In an effort to compensate for the developmental delay, these classes attempt to provide a particularly rich learning environment for students with this problem. The district also places a heavy emphasis on student participation in the Special Olympics--sponsoring local competition and supporting local participants who qualify for the national Special Olympics.

These are a few of the more notable programmatic innovations which the Syracuse City School District has adopted. What makes them particularly relevant to this discussion is the degree to which citizens and professionals from outside of the district bureaucracy were involved in the planning and implementation process. In contrast to the procedural changes which were "mandated from above," many of these programs had their origin "below," at the local levels.

For the city school district, the initial awareness of the problems inherent in the education of the handicapped predated the federal and state mandates of 1975-76. The district had had a series of programs to deal with handicapped education for many years. For example, the 1968-69 Annual Report of the Special Education Department indicates that 2847 students were served by the district, 132 administrative and instructional personnel were employed by the district, and the district spent $1,253,959.36 (of which $876,941.80 was city money) on handicapped programs.[14] However, the federal and state laws of 1975-76 called for programmatic innovations which embodied a considerable expansion in the type of programs offered, the scope of those programs, the number of students served, the methods for identifying and processing students, and the guarantees of due process both for students and for parents. Therefore, it can be said that these mandates were catalysts for the district to look anew at the problem. Indeed, many of those in the district, both within and outside of the bureaucracy, who were concerned with the problems of the handicapped students before the mandates, welcomed P.L. 94-142 and New York State Ch. 853 precisely because they forced district officials to review existing programs and take action in areas where a deficiency existed.

Once it became clear that the laws were going to require a substantial change in the substance and approach of the Syracuse City School District to handicapped education, a number of bureaucratic actors became involved in the search for alternatives to conform to the legal norms. It appears that the primary actor was the Director of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions, H. Thomas Clift. He was the major actor in the development of adaptive innovations, having responsibility for planning, administration, staffing, and directing the adaptive process. In addition, Superintendent Sidney Johnson was a particularly effective and powerful advocate of the program as it developed. He proved to be a firm advocate of handicapped education who supported the initiatives of the Office of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions when it was in his power to do so, and he was willing to defend and advocate the plans of the Office of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions when school board approval was necessary. The Syracuse Board of Education exercised authority over the direction of all new programs. It should be noted, however, that very little public debate of the handicapped education program took place at board of education meetings. From 1975 until 1978, only passing reference is made to the programs in the minutes of the board meetings.

Several factors apparently contributed to this curious silence on the part of the board in open debates: (1) Superintendent Johnson's active and supportive stance on the issue; (2) the mandated nature of the programs which left little room to question the fact that adaptation would take place; (3) the availability of outside funds to support many innovative programs; and (4) the broad base of citizen support for the programmatic innovations as they evolved.

The search for adaptive innovations was guided primarily by three factors: (1) the provisions of the state mandate, which clearly specified many of the steps that were to be taken (particularly with regard to procedural norms); (2) the input of many individuals, both professionals and private citizens, who had an interest in the general question of handicapped education; and (3) the desire to innovate on the part of the bureaucratic entrepreneurs, Clift and Johnson, both as a means of complying with the law and as a way of leaving an imprint on the program.

The decision-making process which led to the adoption of many of the mandated and nonmandated aspects of the total program was characterized by an unusual degree of openness. Thomas Clift appears to have consulted with most of the important service and constituent groups in the area as he planned and adopted the program. Among those consulted were:

William Morgan	Syracuse Developmental Center
Alice Coniff	Syracuse Developmental Center
Sandra Sussman	Seguin Community Services (Hutchings)
Marg McDonald	Seguin Community Services (Hutchings)
William Reilly	Seguin Communigy Services (Hutchings)
Daniel Sage	Special Education Department, Syracuse University
Peter Knoblock	Special Education Department, Syracuse University. Jowonio: The Learning Place
Sue Loveland	Parent, Onondaga County Association for the Learning Disabled
Diana Hatch	Parent
Hillary Schneiderman	Parent, Parent's Information Group for Exceptional Children. Center for Human Policy
Josephene Scro	Parent, Parent's Information Group for Exceptional Children. Center for Human Policy

In interviews conducted with many of these people, the openness and responsiveness of the decision-making style used by Clift and his associates was often mentioned. It appears that many of the more significant and innovative aspects of the city school district's program were developed in response to a suggestion or request by an extra-bureaucratic actor. For example, a conversation between Sue Loveland, Elaine Yanow (of OCALD), and Thomas Clift about the need for some summer programs for learning disabled adolescents was a catalyst for the development and implementation of an innovative summer program using "structured learning theory" as the medium of instruction for learning disabled students. While Loveland and Yanow provided the initial impetus for the program, Clift followed through on the idea and, in short order, had begun to establish the program and had sought out grant funds for its implementation--much to the delight of Loveland and Yanow.[16]

In the case of integrating autistic children with nonhandicapped students, another of the very innovative aspects of the district's program, the idea also came from outside of the district bureaucracy. However, the process leading to implementation of this innovation stretched over two years. The initial catalyst for this program came from a group of professionals and parents associated with Jowonio: The Learning Place. In 1969, Jowonio was founded as an alternative school for "normal" children and gradually expanded its range of educational services to include some children who had been typed as learning disabled. In 1975, Jowonio merged with The Learning Place, a school which offered educational services for young children labeled "developmentally delayed" because of emotional problems. A few of these children were autistic and had thus been left out of programs in the city. The merger of these two organizations led to the development of integrated learning environments for normal and autistic children and a concomitant development of pedagogical and instructional methods and materials for this unique situation.[17]

In an effort to insure that the program which they developed would be continued for their students after the age of fourteen (the terminal year at Jowonio: The Learning Place), negotiations were begun with the city school district to have it implement a similar integrated program in the public schools. Jowonio: The Learning Place provided a model program, trained teachers, and other resources which enabled the school district to institute the first integrated class for autistic and non-handicapped children at the Edward Smith School in September 1979.

Some of the parents and professionals at Jowonio: The Learning Place felt that the negotiations were protracted, taking at least a year longer than expected. The delay was blamed upon a number of factors, including poor planning and strategy on the part of Jowonio and a different set of priorities on the part of the district. In spite of this, it was recognized that Clift was a responsive official who needed and solicited ideas about program design and implementation.[18]

Similar observations were made by almost all of the external actors who were interviewed. While they may have taken issue with the speed of the district's action, felt that the priorities of the district were ill advised, or felt that the district was not doing quite enough in their particular area of concern, all agreed that Clift and his associates were open to suggestions, solicited their input, and acted upon that advice. Perhaps most important is the impression voiced by most external actors that their advice had had a substantive impact upon policies enacted by the city school district.

Because they all felt that they were being seriously listened to by the district officials and that their advice was having an impact, the external actors, both professionals and lay people, were willing to support Clift in his efforts to implement his programs. The various groups came to form a grand coalition which gave added impetus to the efforts of Clift and Johnson to move proposals through the adoption and implementation phases of the total decision-making process. The coalition was composed of professionals from Seguin Community Service, Hutchings Psychiatric Center, Syracuse Developmental Center, Syracuse University, the Center for Human Policy, and such advocacy groups as the Parents Information Group for Exceptional Children, Friends of the Handicapped, Onondaga County Association for the Learning Disabled, and Parents Advisory Committee. Indeed, so comprehensive was the coalition that its impact was felt without having to purposely mobilize forces and move into the posture of an active pressure group. More than one individual mentioned that they had offered to exert whatever leverage they could muster, but Clift had not needed to call upon them.

Given the differing interests of the elements of such a heterogenous coalition, it might be expected that, over time, at least some of the elements of the group would conflict either with each other or with the district officials. While some minor friction was evident within the coalition, it has remained remarkably stable. One factor that has contributed to the continued viability of the coalition is the leadership strategy adopted by the principal entrepreneur. By adopting an open decision-making style and by following through on suggestions, the entrepreneur managed to keep the different groups involved, cooperative, and active throughout the crucial implementation phase. Central to this effort was the official's ability to convey to the groups a sense that they were not competing with each other for the attention of top administrators or for financial resources. Part of this was style. Clift (together with Johnson) was able to impress upon his associates that he was dedicated to doing "what is right." While individuals may have quarreled with specific actions of the entrepreneur or while they may have questioned his judgment on narrow issues, all of the people who were interviewed felt that he had a commitment to handicapped education which transcended mere bureaucratic self-interest and that this commitment was shared at the highest level.

Another factor in the viability of the coalition had to do with the availability of funds from the state and federal governments to support innovative programs for the handicapped. During the 1976-77 year, the city school district received $154,137 in funds from the federal government under P.L. 94-142 provisions. By the 1978-79 school year, the revenues from the state and federal governments had increased to $833,213, an increase of 440 percent. The 1978-79 funds can be broken down as follows:[19]

P.L. 89-313	$76,316	
P.L. 94-142	335,875	
Title IV-C	45,942	
Chapter 66	275,080	
Summer School	100,000	(approx.)
Total	$833,213	

Each of those new funding sources have enabled the Syracuse City School District to respond to increasing constituent demands without diminishing the share of funds allocated to other recipients. For example, Chapter 66 funds allowed the district to develop a new program to serve forty-five severely and profoundly multiply handicapped students who were residing in the Syracuse Developmental Center. The high staff-to-student ratios necessary in such a program would have placed a large financial burden upon the district and perhaps would have necessitated either an evasion of responsibility by officials or a cutback in other areas if the state had not provided full funding for each student. In several other areas such as a summer school for learning disabled adolescents and a summer program for the severely multiply handicapped, funds became available at a time when a constituency need was expressed.

The quality of leadership and the stability of a supportive coalition certainly contributed to the successful implementation of most of the innovations suggested by the Department of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions. However, it should also be noted that the mandated nature of innovation in the general sense also contributed to the relative ease of adoption of specific innovations. The federal and state governments had told the local district and elected officials that change would be taking place in the area of handicapped education and that financial stringency would not be a valid excuse for denying a free and appropriate education to handicapped children.

Thus, the basic question about whether or not to innovate was already answered in the affirmative by higher authorities. The next questions became how specifically to carry out that innovative process and what the innovations would be. Perhaps the largest political question, whether to act, was not subject to debate. Instead, policy-makers dealt with more technical questions pertaining to means rather than overall aims. In this context, the knowledgeable advice of specialists who are part of a cooperative coalition will carry a great deal of weight. In addition, the impact of leadership in its effort to mobilize support for a particular set of innovations will be more efficacious when the need to innovate is accepted a priori.

All of this is not to say that there have been no points of contention with regard to the innovative process in the area of handicapped education. Indeed, one of the more interesting disputes recently arose concerning one of the fundamental principles of the post-P.L. 94-142 era: mainstreaming. Mainstreaming, or education in the "least restrictive" alternative, refers to the practice of maximizing the handicapped child's contact with nonhandicapped children in the schools. With the advent of mainstreaming, the need for special schools that isolate handicapped students has diminished.

The Syracuse City School District has one such school, the McCarthy School, which opened in 1975 as a model for educating those mentally retarded students who were trainable. With the advent of mainstreaming, enrollments at the McCarthy School plummeted from a capacity of 100 to approximately 40 in 1979-80. Although designed for the education of students from the age of 5 to 21, there are currently no students under the age of 14 at the school. While there are no plans to abolish the special education programs at McCarthy, the role of the school is likely to change. In all probability, McCarthy will be the site of future efforts to increase the vocational education of handicapped students, with students being bused to the school for training.[20]

The decline in enrollment at McCarthy and the probable change in its role elicited criticism from members of the McCarthy PTA. In a letter to the president of the Syracuse Board of Education, members of the PTA registered their "adamant opposition to the proposed programmatic destruction" of McCarthy. Further:

> This training program which is being shelved is the program which was envisioned by the school's founders; it is the program around which the current physical plant was designed and developed following the input of parents, teachers, and professional planners; it is also, and no less importantly, the program which was promised to our organization by the school administration, along with various board

> members, and the mayor of the city of Syracuse . . . . Under the established McCarthy program, parents have always been invited to exercise their right to provide input into programs, goals, and overall operations of the school. It has become apparent that this inherent right has been denied our members since there was absolutely no parent input involved in the current changes at McCarthy.[21]

Such conflict can be expected whenever the basic assumptions of a particular area of public policy are altered. It is particularly likely when a concept such as mainstreaming is instituted rapidly by mandate from above and does not evolve in an incremental fashion from local desires. Similar mandated programs should perhaps be examined to determine the general political impact of such friction and its effect upon the implementation of innovations at the local level; yet, this particular difficulty will in all probability neither result in any major change in the school district's commitment to mainstreaming nor alter the district's plans for the future utilization of the McCarthy School for vocational educational purposes.

The reasons for this are several. First and most fundamental, the changes at McCarthy are the result of the success of the concept of mainstreaming. There are no preteens at McCarthy because of the "large number of parents who have requested [that] their children be placed in regular schools."[21] Clift has stated that the parents of children at McCarthy were all given the option of having their children continue in the isolated program or transfer to special education classes in other schools. He said, "If even one parent wanted to leave his child in the program, we'd have a teacher there."[22] Moreover, the strength of the case made by the parents is diminished by the fact that, according to Clift and others who were interviewed, none of the parents who are leading the protest still have children at McCarthy school. Finally, the mainstreaming concept is so deeply ingrained in the policies of the district, both as a result of federal and state mandate and as a result of the consensus of professionals about its desirability, that any return to a more restricted environment for handicapped children would be impractical.

The process of innovation in the area of special education is not over, although all of the innovations described above are fully implemented. Plans for the future include: a curriculum for all children from age 5 to age 21 which would establish developmental goals clearly; improvement of diagnostic techniques; improvement of the general procedures of the IEP; establishment of inservice training for teachers who were not directly involved in full-time special education; and expansion of the vocational educational programs for handicapped students. Many of these goals reflect the fact that most of the major innovations are already past the implementation phase and are efforts to do what is already being done better.[23] The major actors in these changes will, in all probability, be internal actors, and those external actors who served a catalytic function in the initial period of innovation have given primary responsibility to the internal actors for future programmatic development.

Conclusion

It is not the place of this study to assess the degree of compliance or noncompliance of the Syracuse City School District with the norms of New York State or the federal government. Other examiners will do that. However, the data clearly indicate that the district has been successful in moving the innovations which it sought to institute through the various decision-making stages to the incorporation phase. The success of the district, in particular the bureaucratic entrepreneurs, in this task is the product of a variety of factors.

The fact that change was mandated from the federal and state governments insured that innovation would occur. In this fashion, the basic political question of whether to disturb the status quo was not subject to debate. Attention turned to how to institute the specific innovations demanded by the law and what additional innovations would allow the district to come into compliance with the law. In addition to coopting some political opposition to the notion of change, the mandated nature of the change, which shifted discussion to the means to attain a specified end, gave increasing weight to the opinions and suggestions of both professional and lay "experts" who came to form a supporting coalition in the area of handicapped education.

However, had finances not been available to support many efforts at innovation, it is doubtful that the district would have been successful. Of course, many of the innovations were paid for by local funds, but enough state and federal money was flowing into the district to make the cost of innovation acceptable to the board and the city officials. Indeed, several of the most innovative aspects of the Syracuse program were directly financed by nonlocal funds. It should also be noted that some of the state funds (most notably the Chapter 66 appropriation of $275,000) go directly into the general fund of the city--a fact that is not lost on city officials and which is guaranteed to help head off upper level opposition to the cost of handicapped education.

The availability of finances to support innovations also has contributed to the development of a formidable coalition supporting the district's efforts. A wide variety of citizens and professional groups has been active in the development, planning, and formulation of various proposals for innovation. Besides funding some of the specific programs, the availability of external funds has helped expand the financial base of the general program and, thus, has avoided creating a competitive environment within the coalition where different groups are contending with each other for a piece of the financial pie. The scope of this coalition, the intensity of its involvement with the district, and its stability were useful in supporting the innovations at higher levels in the decision-making process.

All of the above factors were important to the success of the program. However, the data seem to indicate that the most crucial feature of the process of innovation was the quality and nature of the leadership. The superintendent of schools and the director of Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions provided leadership that maximized some of the factors which were inherent in the decision-making environment and created others which supported their efforts to innovate. It seems that the leaders within the district bureaucracy used the mandate from above as an opportunity to institute innovations that were in excess of that which would be required if simple compliance with the mandate were the goal. Clift, with the support of Johnson, employed an open decision-making style that involved members of the community and that made those participants feel that their involvement was resulting in substantive action on the part of the district. This, when coupled with the presumption of good faith, which the leaders managed to convey, and the availability of external funds for programs, kept intracoalition competition to a minimum. In turn, the coalition maintained its stability and served as a potent source of support for innovations. Seen in this context, such leadership strategies were essential for the implementation of successful innovations in the Syracuse City School District's approach to the education of children with handicapping conditions.

NOTES

1. *Report to the Commissioner of Education on Status of Programs and Services for Children with Handicapping Conditions*, Syracuse City School District, June 1979.

2. *The Post-Standard*, February 21, 1977.

3. *Annual Report, 1968-1969*, Special Education Department, Syracuse City School District, Syracuse, New York, p. 1.

4. Ibid., p. 5.

5. Ibid., p. 8.

6. The following summary is drawn from *Referral and Placement Procedures for Students with Handicapping Conditions*, Special Education Department, Syracuse City School District, September 18, 1978; and *Your Child's Right to an Education*, the State Education Department, July 1978.

7. Taken from *Regulations of the Commissioner of Education*, as amended, October 16, 1978, Part 200.2.

8. *Guide to Special Education Programs*, Syracuse City School District, May 1979, pp. 3-16.

9. Ibid., p. 4.

10. Taken from *Report to the Commissioner of Education*, *op*. *cit*., Appendix A.

11. *Referral and Placement Procedures*, *op*. *cit*., p. 2.

12. Produres for the hearing are found in *Regulations of the Commissioner of Education*, *op*. *cit*., Part 200.5(c).

13. Procedures in this are outlined in *Your Child's Right to an Education*, *op*. *cit*., pp. 16-18.

14. *Annual Report*, 1968-1969, *op*. *cit*., p. 38.

15. Interview with Thomas Clift, June 24, 1979.

16. Interview with Sue Loveland, June 31, 1979.

17. *Jowonio: The Learning Place*, pamphlet.

18. Interview with Peter Knoblock, Professor of Special Education, Syracuse University, June 31, 1979.

19. *Report to the Commissioner of Education*, *op*. *cit*., p. 11.

20. Remarks of Thomas Clift as quoted in the Herald-American, July 12, 1979.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Interview with Thomas Clift, June 24, 1979.

B

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY IN
THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

by

Elma B. Boyko

(Footnotes on p. B-40)

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY IN
THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

Introduction

Electronic information handling has been called the fourth in a series of revolutions in education.[1] The first three are considered to be the invention of the school, the adoption of the written word in the educational process, and the invention of printing that made possible the wide dissemination of books. Computer technology and television, two components of the electronic revolution in education, have had a strong impact on children's education, although the use of computers has lagged behind that of television.

A decade ago, computer technology was considered to be a panacea for the problems faced by educators. However, they faced serious problems in its adoption. Computers were expensive, and their programs were often either not designed well or inadequate for teaching purposes, or both. In addition, teachers were not well prepared for their use and, in some cases, viewed them as a threat to job security and resisted their adoption. Television, on the other hand, was readily available both to preschool and school-age children in their home.

The integration of the computer into administrative and instructional areas has proceeded at a greater volume and rate in universities and colleges than in the nation's public and nonpublic elementary and secondary schools. In the school districts, the computer has primarily been used to conduct the business of the school district and to process data relating to management of the student in terms of scheduling, attendance reports, etc. "The large school system that does not depend on computers for many administrative and service functions is today the exception rather than the rule."[2]

The present-day paradox of ever-increasing sums of money being spent on the education of children but concurrent declining test scores, indicative of lowered student comprehension, has renewed interest in the computer as an instructional tool. The cost of computer equipment has dropped dramatically: approximately 35 percent per year. Computer capacity that would have cost $20 million fifteen years ago would now cost about $1,000 and may cost only $100 in the next few years.[3] More pertinent than cost is the realization that declining student test scores are a symptom of the inappropriateness and inadequacy of the present-day educational system as it is impacted by the social problems extant in society. Computer capability may be seized upon either as a technological palliative or a technological solution. If viewed as a possible technological palliative or "fix," it could serve to halt the decline in student achievement and buy time necessary to alleviate the causes of social problems. If, more optimistically (and probably less realistically), it is viewed as a technological solution to what is, apparently, a social problem, then, "In general, a technological invention is easier to make and put into use than a social invention."[4]

Historical Overview

In a sense, computers have existed for thousands of years. Computers have two fundamental elements: a device for storing information and a device or routine for performing operations on that information. From the earliest abacus to modern day mini- and microcomputers, "Progress in computers is measured by advances in techniques used to store and perform operations on information."[5]

The use of electronic accounting machines in the administrative area of education preceded the introduction of the first commercial use of the computer around 1955. This first-generation computer was limited to the performance of but a few tasks and equally limited in its storage capacity. With the development of transistors and magnetic memory-core storage devices, a second generation of computers evolved in the late 1950s. Hardware reliability increased, and costs decreased.[6] A third generation of computers appeared in the early 1960s with the advent of miniaturized and microminiaturized, integrated circuits, with even greater hardware reliability and less cost. These computers made possible very large, random access information files with on-line capability.[7]

These third generation computers, aggressivly sold by computer firms, offered the promise of efficiency and centralization of data-processing functions, with resultant improved decision-making to benefit the school district processes. Computer hardware and software for administrative purposes generally have been acquired as needs have dictated and school budgets have permitted.[8] There has been a growing interest, however, among state and federal governments in promoting the technological aspect of education; and computers for computer science teaching and instructional application have often been purchased with the aid of state or federal funds. In 1972, the Regents of the University of the State of New York issued a statement of policy regarding instructional technology in which they recommended:

> (1) . . . increased effort to research, develop, demonstrate, disseminate, and evaluate the uses of new media and technology as part of the instruction process.
>
> (2) . . . that a study of requirements for the training of professionals for the field of instructional technology be initiated.
>
> (3) . . . broad participation in further development and refinement of technological systems . . . further the Regents' role and support the development of new strategies and organizational patterns which will promote closer cooperation among educational institutions, business and industry, and government for the purpose of improving the quality, quantity, and cost of instructional technological materials.[9]

In reporting the progress that New York State has made in this area, the statement pointed out:

> The Education Department has prepared a long-range plan for the establishment of a computerized educational information system which will increasingly serve instructional purposes and is developing a system for cost-effectiveness through instructional technology.[10]

A more recent venture of the federal government in instructional technology was the establishment of the National Institute of Education in 1972. One of its specific missions was the strengthening of the scientific and technological foundation of education. In Fy 1977, this agency expended about $1.5 million (out of a total program budget of $57 million) on activities related to computers and education.[11]

Computer Use in the Educational Environment

Computers can be used to serve several functions in the educational environment. These include administrative and instructional functions. Computers can also be used as a problem-solving tool and to manage specialized information.

The Administrative Function

Business - This has been the area of greatest use of the computer. It performs the transactions necessary for smooth fiscal functioning: payroll, inventory, personnel records, and auditing--all of which are relatively routine tasks. There is also opportunity for its use in program planning, budgeting and control, and forecasting.

Student-Related - Information can be processed to facilitate the scheduling of classes, admitting students, reporting grades and attendance, scheduling transportation, etc.

The Instructional Function

Computer Science - Computer science is generally a vocational training course that teaches programming, key punching and/or digital logic, and sometimes training in the technical intricacies of the hardware itself.

Computer-Assisted Instruction - Computer-assisted instruction is central to the concept of individualized learning. Seated at terminals, students are put into a direct relationship with the computer as they attempt to respond via a keyboard to questions in exercises programmed to complement and/or supplement their regular school curriculum. The computer thus introduces flexibility in dealing with students on their own level of comprehension, allowing them to progress at their own pace.

Remedial - Drill and practice exercises with structured material such as elementary mathematics and spelling have been the easiest to put into widespread use. Declining test scores have increased interest in this type of computer use to bring students up to grade level.

Tutorial - Tutorial interaction is more difficult to achieve because, to anticipate the varied responses of the student, programming is much more complex.

Computer-Managed Instruction - A second key component of the concept of individualized learning is the ability to monitor, assess, and prescribe for the needs of students. Computer-managed instruction uses data processing as a tool to collect systematic data on students' progress and to design an educational plan specific to the individual child's needs. The computer is thus a tool for teachers, not students, although students are the benefactors of the process when their individual educational needs are met.

Use as a Problem-Solving Tool

One of the computer's earliest and most valued uses has been as a fast and accurate calculator to solve complex mathematical problems. New languages for non-numeric information and new technological advances in computer graphics, etc., have made this facet of its use even more far-reaching. However, the computer is likely to be increasingly sharing its problem-solving capability with the small calculator that steadily has become more sophisticated and less expensive. Hand-held calculators are becoming a common tool in the classroom and are usurping some of the previous functions of the larger computer.

Use in Specialized Information Management

The problem of storing and retrieving large quantities of documents is an area to which computer technology can be applied. Guidance and occupational information for students and automation of library systems are two of the kinds of information management needs prevalent in education. Information has no value unless it can be retrieved, and its value may be lessened unless it can be retrieved quickly.

Decision-making on the acquisition and use of computers would seem to operate on two levels in the educational environment. The decision to initiate or expand computer use for administrative purposes (i.e., business related and/or student related) is, for the most part, an administrative decision by the school district to perform its managerial operations more efficiently and effectively. As such, it does not venture very far into the policy area. Computerization of administrative functions may benefit or suffer from policy decision on the relative merits of administrative versus instructional needs, of course, if there is competition for limited funds.

Fiscal policy can also affect the use of the computer for instructional purposes, and the variety of ways in which the computer can be used is often constrained by the lack of funds. Computer-assisted instruction, however, raises some broad policy questions for educators in general and for school district administrators in particular. If the ideal educational process is deemed to be individualized instruction (and, in theory, the computer could make this possible for every child), what effect might this have on our society?

> . . . what we face is a fundamental question of educational philosophy. To what extent does society want to commit itself to accentuating differences in cognitive style by individualized techniques of teaching that cater to these differences? The introduction of computers in education raised this question in a new and pressing way. The present economics of education is such that, whatever we may think about the desirability of having a diverse curriculum for children of different cognitive styles, such diversity is not possible because of the expense. But, as computers become widely used to offer instruction . . . it will indeed be possible to offer a highly diversified body of curriculum material. When this occurs, we shall for the first time be faced with the practical problems of deciding how much diversity we want to have.[12]

At present, this philosophical question is a moot one, for, although the technology exists, educators do not yet know how to design programs of individualized instruction on a large scale. In the past, curriculum has been designed for groups, not individuals, and the expertise has not been developed to fully implement tailor-made education employing interaction between the student and the computer.

Utilizing computerized data to monitor a student's performance and then to adjust learning materials to the pace and needs of the student presents a tremendous task for the teacher who must deal with not one but many students. Furthermore, however voluminous and accurate, data requires the complement of a sensitive understanding of the student's strengths and needs in order to make humane decisions as to a student's proper niche in the educational process.

If the philosophical questions and the practical problems of individualized instruction can be resolved on a broad level, there would still remain policy decisions at the school district level of how far and how fast to implement individualized instruction. Individualized instruction may need ardent advocates within the local educational environment to demonstrate its feasibility and to champion its cause. Decisions to initiate or expand individualized instruction are within the context of policy decisions by district decision-makers to provide better education in the school district commensurate with their perception of the degree of its acceptability among the educational staff and within the community.

The Syracuse City School District

The Syracuse City School District has had two separate computer facilities: one for instructional purposes located at Central Technical Senior High School; and one for administrative purposes located at the Data Processing Center. Each facility has been operating as a separate entity, with a person in charge who is recognized by the city school district personnel as an authority in that respective area of computer use.

The Central Technical Senior High School Facility

Lawrence G. Page is a computer science teacher and is also in charge of the Computer Center for Instructional Services serving the Syracuse City School District and Central New York area via the Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES).[13] This center now has three Hewlett Packard 2000 time-sharing minicomputers with appropriate supporting hardware and software to fulfill the requirements of teaching computer science and computer-assisted instruction both for remedial mathematics purposes and to complement the regular curriculum.

When the IBM 1130, originally used for teaching computer science, was replaced in the early 1970s, a Hewlett Packard (HP) time-sharing system was chosen, primarily because its software was deemed to be the most suitable for instructional purposes. Its cost and simplicity of operation (important for student use) were also major considerations. (Hewlett Packard was the lowest bidder.) Later acquisitions have also been HP time-sharing systems to assure compatibility with the existing system. Computer-assisted instruction was initiated in the Syracuse City School District using the first HP2000 computer.

Purchase of two additional HP2000 computers expanded the capacity of the computer system to enable component districts of BOCES to take advantage of computer programs if they so desired. The computer center, via BOCES, now serves participating school districts in parts of Madison, Onondaga, and Oswego Counties, providing computer-assisted instruction for remedial and enrichment purposes, computer science teaching, and guidance information. At least 110 terminals within the city and county school district have access to the computer center. The computer system can presently service 96 of these terminals at any given time. Instructional capacity will be expanded by the addition of another HP2000 time-sharing computer system, bringing the total terminal capacity to 128. A more advanced time-sharing computer (HP3000) will also be located at the Central Tech facility and primarily be designed both for instructional and administrative student services. Terminals outside the computer facility have dial access via telephone lines. Because of the increasing cost of telephone lines, schools that have more than one terminal are gradually being phased to multiplexer access (one cable serving several terminals in a building).

Computer-assisted instruction was initiated in the Syracuse City School District in connection with federally-funded, remedial mathematics laboratories in the schools, and federal funding has been very important in the continuance of computer-assisted instruction. The Special Programs Office of the school district was involved in preparing the original proposal for funding of a computer-assisted mathematics instruction program in 1974-1975 under Title I, ESEA,[14] and Title I funds have provided the main source for buying additional computer terminals for qualifying schools.

Of the 36 schools in the Syracuse City School District as of September 1978, all but six qualify for Title I funds. Qualifying are two of the five senior high schools (Fowler and Nottingham), all eight junior high schools, and all elementary schools, with the exception of Hyde, Meacham, and Roberts. All Title I schools except Van Duyn either have terminals or are in the process of getting terminals. Title I funds also pay for the 25 certified mathematics laboratory specialists and 30 assistants who utilize the computer as part of the array of tools and teaching aids in the remedial mathematics laboratories.[15] Mathematics laboratory terminals also can be used to provide access to computer programs that serve to complement the school district's regular curriculum in areas of mathematics and science. The 1978 budget provided for a computer-assisted instruction teacher and part-time clerical positions staffed by high school students.[16]

The Data-Processing Center

This administrative computer facility has been under the direction of Richard R. Satterlee, assistant school business administrator for informational systems. The 1978 budget provided for a staff of nine persons, including Satterlee, plus part-time labor.[17] The computer system consists of a leased IBM 360/30 computer using magnetic tape and disk storage, with a card reader, a printer, and a card punch. The IBM 360/30 batch processes data on payroll, accounting, inventory, etc., as well as student-related data (e.g., attendance, scheduling, etc.).[18] Also available is a Mark Sense Page Reader for 8-1/2" by 11" sheets, leased from National Computers Systems, which is used to compile data on students' tests, grade reports, attendance, and scheduling. The compiled data is then run on the IBM computer.

Facilities Reorganization

These two computer facilities will be restructured as the result of a recent decision pertaining to administrative data processing. As a result of an agreement with the City of Syracuse and the Syracuse City School District, the County of Onondaga will take over data processing of the school district's business functions such as payroll and accounting. The IBM computer at the Data Processing Center will be phased out, and an HP3000 time-sharing computer system will be added to the computer facility at Central Tech. It will process student-related data on attendance, grades, etc., and potentially provide additional instructional capability as desired. The Central Data Processing staff will continue to be responsible for the student-related data procedures and for preparation of data and liaison with the city and county in regard to the county processing of business data. The staffing for computer-assisted instruction at Central Tech has not changed for the 1979 budget year. However, the budget for Central Data Processing shows an increase in staff of one stenographer and the substitution of the title, "supervisor of data processing," for that of "assistant school business administrator for informational systems." The numbers and roles of the data-processing staff are likely to change as the transition to county processing of administrative data proceeds, and to change again once the merger is finalized.

Thus, the computer operations are in a state of change, as is the Syracuse City School District's administrative structure in general.

As a result of philosophical considerations, in terms of managerial organization and of financial strictures, major readjustments are being considered in regard to the school district's administrative staff. These realignments in administrative roles, plus the expected change in computer operations, will have an impact on decision-making about computer use and computer personnel which is not readily determinable at the present time.

Computer use in the school district has lagged behind the state-of-the-art. While a program of remedial mathematics utilizes the computer in nearly every school, other computer-assisted instructional uses have been less pervasive. Use of computer-assisted instruction could be expanded in those mathematics and science courses where they serve to complement regular curriculum and could be initiated in other areas of study (e.g., social studies, reading, language, etc.). Computer-assisted instruction has been instituted slowly, which reflects financial constraints. However, the pace may also show not only a cautiousness on the part of Page in implementing new programs, but also a conservative attitude toward impersonal technology on the part of the decision-makers in the Syracuse City School District.

As computerized systems become less technical and, thus, more attractive to the teacher and administrator, the school district is likely to turn increasingly to the computer to deal with its routine administrative chores and to enhance its educational procedures, in spite of declining student enrollment and a shrinking teaching and administrative staff. The ever-increasing use of computers is a circular phenomenon: the greater the demand for information to aid in educational and administrative processes, the greater the rational for expanded computer use; the greater the increase in the ability of the computer to process data, the more the demand will rise to have such data available.

Computer Science

Instituting a curriculum centered about the computer was a truly innovative decision by the city school district administrators in the early 1960s. A program in computer technology was being offered in a school in New York City. Apparently, this program was the first of its kind in the state, and the New York State Education Department wanted to institute a similar program in Central New York. Dr. Edward Lang, principal of Central Technical Senior High School, as well as director of vocational education for the Syracuse City School District, was always looking for new technical programs. Lang learned that federal funds were available through the New York State Department of Vocational Education to buy a computer for a school district that might be interested in instituting a computer technology course. The city school district successfully secured the funds to rent an IBM 1620 with card reader/punch and console. Eugene Larcher, a teacher at Central Tech, had been recruited to negotiate with computer companies in the purchase of the computer and to set up and teach the program. When a curriculum in electronic computer technology was instituted at Central Tech in September 1963, the school district was unique in its ability to offer such a program outside New York City.

At this time, Central Tech students were all-day students: some were from districts outside the city school district; all were students who excelled in their scholastic endeavors. These students took their regular required and elective courses in the main high school building and technical courses for extra credits in the adjacent technical building. Courses were offered in electrical, mechanical, and chemical technology, and, commencing in 1963, in computer technology. Eight or nine of the more capable eleventh-grade students were recruited from the electrical technology program to take the new computer technology program, with emphasis on the technical aspects of the computer. Students learned about the electrical and mechanical operations of the computer and how to keep it functioning. Teaching of programming and key punching was peripheral to the technical focus of the course.

Larcher left at the end of the first year for he anticipated a decline in technical programs as a result of the retirement of Lang. Technical education had flourished under Lang, who was considered something of a legend in terms of innovation. His leaving the Syracuse City School District was seen as a serious blow to a viable technical program.[19]

John Merrill succeeded Larcher. During his two years, the program grew to include approximately 35 to 45 students. Merrill had the technical expertise to continue the focus of the program as initiated. According to Merrill, he left because the $300-per-year budget for supplies was inadequate, and he was forced to ask for supplies from private industry in order to conduct his course.[20]

When Page succeeded Merrill, his nontechnical orientation was a major factor in changing the program from a focus on hardware to a focus on software and, in the process, changing from technical expertise in the operation of computers to occupational training in data processing. Technical training in computer technology became part of the electrical technology course still offered at Central Tech.

In 1972, an HP2000 time-sharing computer replaced the IBM 1130 that had replaced the IBM 1620 in 1968. The new computer was available for teaching programming, data management, and digital logic. There are now 63 students and 1.5 teachers in the computer science program. Students are no longer all-day students. They come to Central Tech for vocational training, and academic work is pursued at the regular senior high schools. Central Tech thus provides training for city school district students analogous to that provided by BOCES for its component districts.[21]

The computer science program has not grown dramatically at Central Tech, but its growth has been steady. Concurrent with the expanding use of computers in the public and private sectors is an increasing demand for programmers and data entry operators. This demand should continue to develop the interest of high school students in the program.

Computer-Assisted Instruction

Computer-assisted instruction has often been introduced into a school district as an adjunct to the established use of a computer for administrative purposes. In the city school district, however, computer-assisted instruction was begun as an adjunct to the computer being used at Central Tech to teach computer science.

Page saw possibilities in the use of the computer to deal with the social problems affecting the local school district. Following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968, the city school district, like school districts nationwide, was experiencing serious problems in discipline, poor school attendance, and outbreaks of violence. Page knew that students involved in computer work usually developed great enthusiasm for it and were reluctant to leave the keyboard when their time was up. He also knew that, although integration of the city schools had been ordered, de facto segregation still existed when students could not compete academically in the schools to which they were bused to achieve racial balance.

Page began a long process of exploration. He read about computer-assisted instruction and started talking to educators in other parts of the country who either were initiating or had on-going computer-assisted programs. The attempt to start a computer-assisted program was basically Page's campaign. His several proposals for a new computer that would be suitable for computer-assisted instruction were rejected by the school's top administrators. However, Page had support from a colleague, Lionel Meno, who taught in the Occupational Learning Center, and together they presented slides to the superintendent, his staff, and the directors of various department in the district to persuade them to their point of view.

The initial breakthrough in funding came in 1972 when the New York State Department of Occupational Education refused to continue to pay rental on the IBM 1130 at Central Tech. This department had established a new policy of channeling its funds into staff for instructional purposes, and it no longer would pay for equipment rental. Page then persuaded the administrators of the school district to request the state to help buy a replacement for the IBM 1130 because this computer was no longer current with the state-of-the-art. The Department of Occupational Education provided 60 percent of the funds needed to purchase an HP2000 time-sharing computer system. The school district's capital funds provided the remaining 40 percent. The new computer was for adult evening classes and students at Central Tech. Students from other schools in the city who wanted to use the computer had to be bused to Central Tech during school hours or arrange their own transportation after hours. As funds permitted, a few terminals for teaching computer science were installed in other senior high schools.

Computer-assisted instruction per se promised to become a reality when, in the 1974-1975 school year, the school district submitted a proposal for funding a computer-assisted mathematics instruction program to be implemented under Title I, ESEA. This action had been recommended by the Citizen's Advisory Council for Title I, ESEA Programs after it had investigated such a program. The council's investigation included a presentation by Page on the feasibility of computer-assisted instruction. According to Dr. Edwin E. Weeks, Jr., superintendent at that time, such funds would put into operation "another effort on the part of the city school district to improve basic skills competency in the area of math for students in that school who are in need of such assistance."[22]

Eight terminals were purchased with Title I funds and installed in Central Tech. Approximately one-half of the student population of about 1000 were below grade level in mathematics.[23] A pilot program to improve proficiency in mathematics was set up, with one regular mathematics teacher, one Title I teaching aide, and 120 students participating. The Houghton-Mifflin Individualized Computational Skills Program (ICSP) was adopted. Because of delays in installing the terminals and getting the program set up, ICSP was in operation only from November 1974 to June 1975. The opportunity for these students to use a computer terminal did not increase their attendance rate, but pre- and post-ICSP computation tests showed a 3.4 average monthly gain.[24] After June 1975, these terminals were moved to the new Fowler Senior High School when the old Central Senior High School was closed. The new Central Tech building, adjacent to the old high school building, housed the computer system.

About this time, the board of education established a minimum graduation requirement in mathematics that stimulated interest in remedial mathematics in all of the high schools. Page began to add more dial-in lines to serve the additional terminals at the other high schools and initiated the development of multiplexers to cut down on telephone line costs.

When funds were not available to buy $8,000 worth of software and hardware components, Page wrote a computer accounting teaching program one summer and traded the rights to the program with Hewlett-Packard for the components that he needed. This program has been used nationally. Hewlett-Packard estimated that the cost would have been $50,000 to $100,000 had it developed the program itself.

By 1975, Page and the mathematics laboratory teachers wanted to expand the use of computers below the senior high school level. This would require additional computer capability. Since state or federal funds were not available to help purchase another computer, Page had to look for other sources of funding. Contact was made with Paul Mikus, director of the Regional Computer Center of the Onondaga-Madison BOCES, and Dr. Frank Ambrosie, assistant superintendant for BOCES, with reference to a proposed cooperative computer venture. Again, Page was the driving force (in a low-key way) as the decision went through the city school district's channels. Julius E. Deuble, executive associate superintendent for school services, was the key negotiator for the school district. Both the board of education and Irving Henry, superintendent of BOCES, were very supportive of the plan.

It was proposed that the city school district share the $75,000 cost of another minicomputer to be located at Central Tech: the city would pay one-third of the cost; BOCES, two-thirds. BOCES, with its small, inadequate computer system, revaluated its needs and was agreeable to the proposal. New York State law was investigated as to whether such a joint effort was permissible. It was found that it was possible for municipalities to work together, and they were encouraged to do so.

A second HP2000 time-sharing computer system was purchased in 1976, and an agreement was entered into by the Syracuse City School District and the Onondaga-Madison BOCES to provide computer-assisted instruction.[25] The city school district was to operate the computer system and provide computer-assisted instruction to various component districts of BOCES, as well as to expand its services to its own high schools. The initial capital investment of the city school district was expected to be recouped from fees paid by BOCES for computer-assisted services provided to its component districts. Deuble stated that this venture was an example of "a large city and a board of cooperative educational services cooperating in a mutual need."[26] Since this was the first time that a large city and a BOCES in New York State had worked together on a project of this nature, the prospect of setting an example may well have been an incentive both to BOCES to participate and to the state to approve such participation.

In 1975, in anticipation of the second computer, Page began to acquire more terminals. He learned that a rather large sum of money had been brought into the school district for Title I mathematics laboratories. He asked the mathematics supervisor if he would be willing to allocate some of that money for more terminals, rather than to hire so many (perhaps 25) mathematics aides. Both George Aman and Robert Cullivan of Special Programs were receptive to the idea. Only one aide was hired, and Page acquired an additional 13 or 14 terminals. There were now terminals in all senior and junior high schools and a majority of elementary schools.

By 1977, Page decided that he had exhausted the resources of the two minicomputers. The computer system had the capacity of serving 64 terminals on the line at the same time. However, there were 110 computer terminals in the city and county schools, and a teacher or student who might be the 65th person at one time requiring access to the system would get a busy signal. It was again time to expand the facilities.

A proposal for the city school district and BOCES to jointly purchase a third computer was submitted to the executive associate superintendent for school services who again acted as key negotiator for the city school district. BOCES agreed to share 50 percent of the cost, which would be funded through user charges to its district components. The city school district's share of the cost was $32,460.50, to be paid from capital funds. The city school district was to continue to provide BOCES with computer-assisted instruction services as it had been doing.[27] In June 1978, Page's third computer arrived, increasing the total terminal capacity to 96.

The computer complex at Central Tech will continue to expand. A fourth minicomputer for instructional purposes will be added during the coming year: an HP2000 with a capacity for 32 additional terminals. BOCES will pay 75 percent of the cost; and the city school district, 25 percent. The computer facility at Central Tech also will house the administrative HP3000 computer that will be purchased as a result of a city-county compromise on data processing. Although used primarily to process data related to student management, this computer also will serve instructional needs. This was an important selling point to encourage the board of education's approval of the retention of student-related management services in the school district, with its accompanying requirement for additional computer capacity.

The growth of computer-assisted instruction is reflected in the school district's budget. It first appeared in the 1975 budget as a category under Instructional Media. The total cost of computer-assisted instruction (personnel, computer and terminal maintenance, telephone services, and supplies) for that year was $31,477, eight percent of the total Instructional Media budget.[28] In the proposed 1979 budget, the cost is $94,861, 18 percent of the total.[29] Thus, the budget for computer-assisted instruction has more than tripled in the five years that it has existed.

A continuing problem is the shortage of terminals in the individual schools. Every Title I mathematics laboratory has a terminal, some of which are portable. However, with only one terminal per laboratory, it is not possible for each student in the mathematics laboratory to have sufficient computer-assisted instruction time to have a drastic impact on mathematics comprehension.

The 1979 budget provides for the purchase of five Port-a-Com terminals at a cost of approximately $500 each, secondhand. (New terminals sell for approximately $1200 each.) Increasing personnel costs take so much of the school budget that the outlook is bleak for the purchase of a significant number of terminals. While some terminals have been obtained under the Title I funds for mathematics laboratories, the federal government does not have a specific program for funds for equipment. Robert Cullivan would like to see a bill introduced into Congress specifically designed to provide federal funds for equipment for schools.[30]

In the proposal for funding the McKinley-Brighton Magnet Program, dated May 1978, three computer terminals were specifically listed at a cost of $1200 each. Since this school has been designed as a fundamental mathematics-science school, the use of computers for mathematics purposes is an integral part of the original planning. According to Cullivan, a new kind of computer, a microcomputer, is being investigated, with the possibility of placement in the McKinley-Brighton Magnet School.[31]

As is evident from this report, a large portion of the computer-assisted instructional program in the city school district has been directed to remedial mathematics application. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the computer in this area is difficult because all statistical data are on the entire mathematics laboratory, which uses many different instructional tools and material. Individual procedures such as those using the computer are not separable from the total data. However, it is the subjective feeling of the teachers that computer terminals do make a difference. They save teachers' time and provide immediate feedback both to students and teachers.

Since the computer capacity has expanded to provide for computer-assisted instructional programs beyond those for remedial purposes, other courses have begun to utilize the computer as an adjunct to their usual materials. Of course, mathematics courses lend themselves readily to computer use, and all city high schools, except Fowler, use the computer in various ways to enhance mathematics teaching at that level. There also has been some use in science classes such as physics at Fowler Senior High School and tutorial chemistry. Some schools (generally junior high schools) have computer clubs that meet after school to use the computer. Dr. Louise Lutz, Title I mathematics laboratory coordinator, expects to attempt to design an evaluation method of computer use in the near future to assemble data for use as a basis for a possible expansion of the program.[32]

Computers appeal to students. In November 1977, students in twelve schools who had used computer terminals in mathematics laboratories were asked to respond to a questionnaire. Forty-eight percent of the students surveyed said that they preferred computers over other mathematical aids. Some students at Shea Junior High School prepared a petition which was signed by every student in the school. It read:

> We, the students of Shea Junior High School, Syracuse City School District, Syracuse, New York, feel there is a great need for more computer terminals in our school. Students enjoy working on them and they make school work more fun and interesting. We, the undersigned, would like to use more computer terminals in all schools.[33]

Computer-Managed Instruction

In the mid-1960s, computer-managed instruction was an important part of a proposed Campus Plan to integrate and modernize the Syracuse City School District.[34] The first of four campuses was planned for the north side. It was to have been operative by 1971 and to have been the focal point of computer operations. It would have housed the computer itself, plus auxiliary equipment, for a completely functioning data-processing center with both batch-processing and time-sharing capabilities. Forty-nine terminals, strategically located throughout the educational complex, would have provided access to computerized information.

The Eastern Regional Institute for Education (ERIE), established by the U. S. Office of Education to help transfer innovative ideas to local users, had been recruited to help plan the educational program. Its report, entitled "Quality Education for Elementary Schools," was released in May 1968. According to this report, "a computerized information bank [was seen] as essential for any serious and comprehensive attempt to individualized learning."[35]

Individualized instruction was viewed as an innovative approach to revitalize the educational process and to make more efficient use of teachers' time. The primary use of the computer was for the accumulation and storage of data on students, which would enable the teachers to monitor students' progress closely and tailor instruction according to their needs. The computer in the campus plan was a tool for teachers' use, not students'. Second, the computer was to have been used for management of student-related matters such as census, attendance, report cards, scheduling, etc. Both functions were tied closely to information on the educational performance and needs of the students.

As the additional three campuses were built, over a period of twenty years, the plan proposed to have an optical reader, card punch, and card reader communications terminal to process the initial data generated at each school. The processed data would then be forwarded to the central data-processing center at Campus No. 1, either via dial access (leased telephone lines) or the slower, internal mail route for batch processing. Each campus was to have had 49 terminals for immediate retrieval of information, as needed. The cost of the computer equipment ($1,403,250 for the first campus) was expected to be included in the bond issued for the campus.[36] The training of data-processing personnel and the preparation of information on students for computerization was estimated to be an eighteen-month effort. It was expected that ESEA Title III funds could be obtained both for training and initial program start-up costs.[37]

Computer-assisted instruction was not part of the original Campus Plan. It was felt by the planners that, as a teaching technique, computer-assisted instruction was too new and expensive and had not been proven in the educational field. The computer system could have been adapted readily to computer-assisted instruction whenever a decision might have been made to add such capability, but it was not one of the aspects of this innovative plan. However, the Campus Plan failed to be adopted, and speculations on the reasons for the failure have been detailed elsewhere.[38]

Adverse reaction to technology undoubtedly played its part in the failure of the Campus Plan to be adopted. Opponents were confused over the difference between computer-assisted instruction, which was not part of the plan, and computer-managed instruction, which was. Some individuals literally thought that the computer would replace the teacher, with the regular teacher only teaching a very short time (perhaps two hours a day), and that the classrooms would have 150 children each.[41] Some people criticized technology in general in regard to the concept of the learning-center approach to instruction: "Is there really individualized learning when a child craving for personal attention is put in a cubicle with a machine?"[42] Those who realized what the computer system actually was designed to do questioned whether the computerized part of the plan was practical and could accomplish what it proposed to do in the instructional area.[43]

While the concerns for the feasibility of computer use, especially in the instructional area were valid ones, it is still more likely that the objections to the computer and the other technological aspects of the campus plan served as part of the cover for more basic reasons to reject the plan.

The Administrative Uses of the Computer

The housekeeping chores of the Syracuse City School District paralled the rise in enrollment during the 1950s and 1960s. However, neither the cost of these services nor the extent of computer use has followed the trend of declining student enrollment of the late 1960s to date. The computer has made possible the automation of ever-increasing procedures. However, efficiency and timeliness of data do not come cheaply.

Business Use

Prior to the 1950s when the Syracuse City School District started to handle its own accounting, computations and data-processing were done mainly with pencil, paper, and adding machines in the City of Syracuse. During the summers, there was little activity at the business office; the pace picked up when school began. However, demands on the central office commenced to accelerate sharply in the late 1950s.

The Syracuse City School District first came under Social Security requirements in 1958. Coupled with the institution of a retirement system and the demand by teachers in 1965 for a semi-monthly payroll, the record-keeping greatly increased. Student enrollment also increased the workload. In 1951, there were 23,112 students enrolled in the city schools; by 1962, the peak year, there were 31,225 students.[44] Teaching and administrative staff grew in order to cope with the increase in educational and managerial requirements. The 1960s also saw the coffers of the federal government being opened wide for educational purposes. This placed further demands on the central office to account for the receipt and disbursement of federal funds, a task that it still labors under in the 1970s.

The solution for processing the increased workload was obviously not to hire more clerks and accountants, but to search for more efficient means of dealing with the paperwork. The first venture into automated equipment was the purchase of electronic accounting machines about 1962. These machines were for single-purpose, one-area functions, reading punched cards, only. In some areas, the city did contract for automated services, as in student scheduling, which needed to be run on a large computer. For five years (1961-1966), this work was done at the Syracuse University Computer Center.

It was not until 1965, when computers were into third generation design, that the school district acquired an IBM 1401. For the first time,a category for data processing appeared in the proposed city budget for 1965 under unallocated charges-services units. The total allocated for the Data Processing Service Unit was $61,601, of which $38,700 was for rental of IBM equipment. The staff for data processing was composed of a data-processing supervisor, a senior data-processing machine operator, two key-punch operators, plus part-time help.[45] The district lacked its own computer programmer; therefore, when it desired to upgrade its payroll card system into a fully-automated program, it contracted with the Touchette Corporation to design the program that is still in use.

The dynamics both of the data-processing staffing and the application of computer usage greatly changed in 1971. Since 1965, there had been only the data-processing supervisor and his three-person staff. The district had begun to utilize the computer for student-related management services, as well as business needs. It had started to do its own student scheduling in 1966; and, when the Touchette Corporation did a feasibility study for computer applications in financial and accounting areas, it also contracted for a study of computer applications in supportive services to schools (attendance reporting, scheduling, census, student bus lists, etc.).[46]

The Data Processing Unit was reorganized. Richard G. Satterlee, assistant school business administrator for information systems, was placed in charge. He was hired originally for the purpose of building up a data base for an automated, student-related management system. The number of staff began to increase. Apparently, the control of all data-processing procedures began to pass into the hands of Satterlee as both student-related management functions and business functions increased.

Again, in 1975, there was a departmental reorganization of the district's accounting structure to conform to a uniform code instituted by the state. Central Data Processing first appeared as a category under Central Services. At this time, the position of data-processing supervisor was eliminated from the 1975 budget.[47] This same year, the city school district leased a new computer, an IBM 360/30, to perform all administrative functions: payroll, accounting, attendance, analysis of students' test data, and inventory control of supplies, textbooks, and permanent equipment such as desks, chairs, and audio-visual equipment. Using data supplied by the Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation, reports are also available on power utilization (gas. electricity, and oil) by building.

Student-Related Management Use

Student scheduling is an administrative area where the scope of the task would seem to make it a natural one for automation. Recognizing this, the city school district began such a program in 1961. Henniger Senior High School was the first to have a computerized student schedule. In 1962, the rest of the senior high schools were added; in 1963, one junior high school was added; and, in 1964, the remaining junior high schools were added. Until the city school district acquired its own computer, these programs were run on the computer at Syracuse University.

In 1966, the city school district began to run the scheduling package on its own computer, using a BETA SOCRATES program provided free by IBM. School principals still had to build a master schedule, manually, having been given a matrix and other pertinent data. In 1976, the school district agreed with IBM to license the IBM ERIC SOCRATES student-scheduling system at $277 per month. The secondary schools, except Corcoran Senior High School, were scheduled with this program the first year. The agreement was renewed for a second year to incorporate a feature that would allow the building of a master schedule. The number of classes, rooms, teachers, courses, etc., could be entered on forms, and the computer would generate the master schedule for each building to match the school's resources with the students' requests. The purpose was to remove the responsibility for building a master schedule from the building administrators, thereby saving the principals' time and computer time.[48]

The theory of computer efficiency was not in dispute; but, gradually, most principals stopped using this latest time-saving aid. Apparently they felt that the computer infringed on their authority to assemble classes as they judged appropriate. Even though, in theory, it is a tremendous aid, few of the principals now use the master schedule builder. They prefer the control inherent in compiling master schedules manually; only then, will they permit the computer to process the data.

Test-scoring is another automated procedure. In the mid-1960s, the school district had an IBM test-scoring machine that read only specially-marked tests. It later rented an optical scanner that could read material other than IBM tests, including attendance reports and report-card data. In 1974, the school district no longer rented this optical scanner. but used BOCES' services. BOCES' employees would pick up material, process it, and return it. However, the time-delay factor proved unworkable, and the district now has its own Mark Sense Page Reader for preparing data on students' tests, grade reporting, attendance, and students' scheduling. Such data is then processed on the IBM computer.

Student busing has probably been one of the most frustrating of student-related management functions. The first serious attempt to automate lists for bus transportation of students came in 1975 when the city school district contracted with LKB Administrative Systems, Inc. (LKB) for a feasibility study of the district's pupil transportation program at a cost not to exceed $1250. The variables in providing transportation (fleet size, school opening times, etc.) were to be analyzed to determine whether an automated school-bus scheduling system would be cost-effective. The consulting fees were on a guaranteed basis, to be paid from the saving derived from using such a system.[49] Subsequently, an agreement was entered into for the development and implementation of an automated school-bus system. LKB's report of April 1, 1975, had indicated an anticipated saving of $150,000 to $350,000 per year, depending on variables and policy decisions; and it was willing to guarantee a minimum saving of $80,000 per year. The first year's guaranteed saving would, thus, be more than enough for the firm's fees.[50] The saving would depend primarily on changes in the current school opening and dismissal times, expected to be only 5-10 minutes. Most of the saving would result from increased use of chartered services and elimination of the use of bus fare tokens at the senior high school level.

The opening of school in September entailed severe problems for the administrative staff. As a result of using the lists compiled by LKB, many pupils either were late for school, were taken to the wrong school, or did not appear during the first few days. Poor input data had resulted in equipment and driver shortages, dual enrollment problems, and a completely mixed-up schedule. The school district promptly stopped payment of the fee due LKB. LKB's representatives left Syracuse in late September, and the pupil transportation office had to work out the problems. Ultimately, it was found that, in spite of the difficulties encountered, there had been an estimated saving of $105,157.[51] The balance of the fee due LKB was paid, and the hope was expressed that some aspects of the system could be salvaged for future use. The computer had been used in this project only to print lists of students. The basic information had been tabulated by hand, and this input data was erroneous.

In 1977, the Syracuse City School District tried again. This time an agreement was made with Programmed Transportation, Inc., to conduct a study of the pupil transportation program and to identify alternatives for transport service necessary to meet requirements of racial balance and expected school closings. This was to be preliminary work that would result in a system in which the school district could do its own scheduling on its own computer.[52] Programmed Transportation, Inc., looked at the variables of pupil transportation and provided preliminary findings, including a PERT chart. At that point, the company apparently lost interest. It did no further work and charged no fee for the work already done. Using the data that the company had compiled, with Rochester as a model, the city school district staff developed its own pupil transportation program.

The fact that the district has closed schools has had an impact on the program, but the program also suffers from the unsolved problems of compiling an up-to-date, accurate data base. The student population is highly mobile. This has a serious impact on a system in which buses and children must meet at a certain street corner.

Attendance records are computerized, but there is a need for timeliness. This is expected to be corrected when the HP3000 with on-line capability is installed for student-related services. Presently, attendance records are picked up from the schools, batch-processed at the Data Processing Center, and returned to the schools, a process that may take several days. A pilot program was started in 1977 for Fowler and Henninger Senior High Schools, using the computer system at Central Tech. When the HP3000 system is operative, all schools are expected to have immediate access to attendance records eventually.

Secondary schools have a computerized reporting system. In March 1978, the board of education authorized a pilot program to computerize elementary reporting in one or more elementary schools during the 1978-1979 school year to see if such a system would be advantageous to teachers and administrators.[53] According to Julius Deuble, this pilot program is likely to be postponed for a year. Not only is the reprogramming of other administrative systems to effectuate the transfer of the business data processing to the county taking priority, but the current staff reorganization and cutback also make it uncertain as to who will remain to take responsibility for the program.

Growth of Data Processing for Administrative Purposes

From the first appearance of a Data Processing Services Unit in the city school budget in 1965, with an allocation of $61,601, the cost of data processing has risen steadily. By 1971, when there was a departmental reorganization, the budget for Data Processing Units was $124,800. By 1975, when another reorganization took place and the Data Processing Services Unit became known as Central Data Processing, the budget had risen to $234,457 (4.7 percent of the new category of Central Services). By 1978, the proposed Central Data Processing budget was $343,680 (5.9 percent of the total for Central Services).

The proposed 1979 school district budget allocates $366,431 to Central Data Processing (5.96 percent of the total for Central Services). Staff changes are expected to be made as the merger of business data processing with the county proceeds. "Assistant school business administrator for informational systems" is no longer listed in this unit; it has been replaced by "supervisor of data processing."[54] The role of Satterlee, the present assistant school business administrator for informational systems, is being reconsidered at this time.

In the past, some of the key-punch operation has been performed by part-time personnel, with some of the work being contracted to outside sources. It is expected that reliance on outside services for key-punching operations will increase as the new relationship with the county develops.

The use of a computer in the city school district is reported to have met with some resistance in the 1960s when it was introduced and its use was expanded. Now, most of the old-timers have left, and the few that remain have learned to coexist with the computer. The majority of the administrative staff are young enough to view the computer as a valuable tool to be used in performing a task quickly and efficiently.

City School District-City-County Merger

Ordinarily, a history of the administrative use of computers in an educational environment might show little in the way of overt decision-making, except perhaps whether the availability of funds was a major factor in acquisition and expansion. In the city school district, however, proposed expansion of computer capability for administrative purposes in the past year has evolved into an intergovernmental dialogue with political overtones.

The timeliness of data has been a continuing concern of teachers and administrators. In administrative use of the computer, the procedure has been that data is prepared by the staff, sent through the internal mail system, batch-processed at the Data Processing Center, and returned to the schools or central administrative office via the mail system. It is not unusual to have a two-week delay before the computer printout is returned. Problems with the data require a call to the school or central office and the possible return of the data to its source. It then must be sent back to the Data Processing Center, which might mean an additional two-to-three week delay. For example, attendance data is a particular problem, since it is collected for a five-week period and then sent to the Data Processing Center. With an average two-week period for processing, seven weeks might elapse between the time the figures for the first week of attendance have been collected and the time the computer printout is returned.

Teachers and administrators were aware of the advantages of more modern computer equipment in providing quick retrieval of information such as that provided to Fowler and Henninger Senior High Schools by the pilot program for attendance records. However, no concerted effort was made to obtain such equipment until a request from Fowler Senior High School to the superintendent set in motion a series of events. The principal at Fowler wanted to buy a minicomputer for administrative use. Questions were raised about the implications of each school wanting its own minicomputer without regard for compatibility with the overall system. This one request seems to have focused the central office's attention on the needs of the district and how best to evolve a planned pattern of expanded services. When Satterlee surveyed the principals and central office administrative staff as to their perceived needs, he found an overwhelming desire on their part to have a computer with on-line capability for immediate access to information, especially in terms of student-related data.

Satterlee, Casavant, and Balmer (the latter two from the Planning and Evaluation group) were given the responsibility of setting up a district staff committee to assemble information on specifications for the purchase of a new computer. The committee, formed in December 1977, consisted of Patrick F. Spadafora, a senior high school principal; Dennis M. Sweeney, director of elementary education; James M. Zatlukal, director of secondary education; Richard R. Satterlee, assistant school business administrator for informational systems; Julius E. Deuble, executive associate superintendent for school services; Lionel R. Meno, assistant to the superintendent; Paul J. Casavant, director of evaluation and assessment; and Lawrence G. Page, computer science teacher.

Specifications for the desired capabilities for a new computer were compiled and circulated among the staff where they received a favorable response. Formal specifications for student, payroll, and accounting software needs were prepared; and, by February 1978, major computer vendors were contacted. James Thornton of the city's Data Processing Office was present at meetings of the committee and at vendor presentations.

The City of Syracuse, the County of Onondaga, and BOCES[55] were contacted as possible vendors of services. The county was contacted via the city because for the most part the city uses the county computer. Negotiations were then in progress between the city and county for continued free use of the county's computer by the city. Were Onondaga County to service the Syracuse City School District, the service would be formally channeled through the city to the county. Three of the vendors that responded made presentations that included the running of benchmarks.[56] Some benchmarks that ran faster were also the most expensive. The county also ran a benchmark that was very fast.

While the dialogue with the vendors was taking place, the board of education was being prepared for the time when a proposal would be submitted for the approval of a purchase of a new computer. Meno related to the board how monthly reports on racial balance (a continuing volatile issue) were now compiled by data acquired by telephone. Using this method, the data could not be compiled in time to meet state deadlines. The board discussed the fate of the "antiquated" data-processing system; the present computer contract, estimated at about $72,000 per year, would run out in March 1979. The district staff committee reported that it had received responses to specifications from eight companies and that the district wanted to use the computer not only for the usual functions of student, payroll, personnel, accounting, and inventory, but also for transportation and libraries. It was likely, also, that the computer would be used for budget forecasting and health statistics analysis.[57]

Of the vendors competing for the school district's computer business, it was believed that only Hewlett-Packard could fulfill the district's needs. The price of Hewlett-Packard's computer system was the second lowest. This system could provide the software package for student-related management functions. The county's bid was the lowest, but it did not have the student software available, and the local development of such software would be very expensive.

The district committee recommended that the Syracuse City School District purchase an HP3000 computer system for administrative and instructional purposes at a cost of $839,000 over a five-year period.[58] While the committee said it would be possible to share the existing mathematics laboratory terminals, it would prefer to have a terminal in each office (probably only a screen in elementary schools, but also a hard copy printer in high schools).

At the board of education meeting on May 24, 1978, Howard Kaiser, director of County Data Processing, was present and challenged the recommendations of the committee. He complained that he had not had an opportunity to respond to the committee and the board, and stressed the proposed free use of the computer by the Syracuse City School District as it had been for the city. In response to Kaiser and to questions by members as to the county being second in the selection of vendors, the committee members defended their choice. Although the county did have the hardware, based on its IBM 370 computer, and the acounting and payroll programs could be modified for the school district's needs, the county had no software suitable for student management functions, and the cost of writing its own program was very high. The committee also expressed its concern over uncertainties in terms of a continued no-charge policy by the county. The board of education agreed to Kaiser's request for a delay while he and the committee reviewed the situation.[59]

In a letter to the board of education the week of June 25, 1978, Kaiser criticized past computer decisions by the school district, claiming that the city had spent about $200,000 less on computer costs over the past five years than had the school district and had accomplished more. He complained that the city had not been given an adequate chance to present its case:

> . . . the tone of the meeting that was held, and the dialogue, does not lend for any cooperative desire by the administration of the Board of Education to avail themselves of the Onondaga County Computer Center . . . . I also get the feeling that the Syracuse School District is very reluctant in using the City of Syracuse as a vehicle for obtaining the use of this computer center . . . . [It is a] problem between the School District and the City of Syracuse and must be resolved . . . . It is time for various governmental agencies to utilize the resources available in a judicious manner and creating a data processing installation with limited resources is not one of them.[60]

Kaiser recommended that an "impartial, unprejudiced, outside consulting firm" audit the school district's current computer utilization and recommend whether it should buy its own computer or use the county's.

The city publicly joined forces with the county in objecting to the proposed computer purchase. James Thornton, director of City Data Processing, was also quoted as saying that the city had been doing an amount of data processing equal to that of the school district, but the school district was spending more than the city.[61]

When the city and county were considering consolidation of operations in the county computer six years ago, a Greater Syracuse Chamber of Commerce committee was appointed to study the implications of the merger. At the request of Robert R. Cecile, vice-president of the Board of Education, this committee was reconvened in August 1978 to review the Syracuse City School District situation. (Apparently, Cecile was instigated to do this by Kaiser.) Chief data-processing officers from major corporations in Syracuse, as well as city, school district, and county officials, were invited to meetings. Cecile, who was also the board's representative on the Chamber of Commerce committee, favored consolidation of the school district with the county.[62] Aside from the cost factor and the suspected desire of the county's Data Processing Center to enlarge its empire by absorbing the school district into its operations, several other issues were very important in the consideration of how to resolve the computer dispute.

A major portion of the school district's rationale not to go with the county hinged on the needs of data processing pertaining to students. Hardware and software for student-related management functions would be available from Hewlett-Packard for use on its computer, and suitable software for administrative tasks was readily available from another firm.

The city has payroll and accounting programs compatible with the county's computer. With modifications, it was believed that these programs could also be utilized for the school district's payroll and accounting if the county's computer were to be used. IBM was requested to find a student package compatible with the county's IBM equipment that would fit the specifications of the school district. None was available. The cost of developing its own program was investigated by the district committee. A Syracuse University consultant estimated that a cooperative effort between Syracuse University and the school district personnel to develop such a program would take nearly one and one-half years to prepare, cost nearly $500,000, and require its own computer. Hewlett-Packard estimated that developing the program would take ten man-years and cost $300,000 to $400,000. The city disagreed with these figures and predicted that the county could do it for $75,000.

The school district also wanted on-line capability to permit immediate access to information as opposed to batch processing, which was likely if it went to the county computer via the city. Ideally, it wanted terminals in each school office, although it would accept the joint use of existing mathematics laboratory terminals, if necessary. The Hewlett-Packard system can communicate both with EBCDIC and ASCII terminals,[63] but generally handles the instructional terminal ASCII. ASCII terminals cost about one-half as much as EBCDIC terminals. Thus, buying ASCII terminals for an HP computer would save money; and, if the present ASCII terminals for mathematics laboratories were to be used instead of buying additional terminals, there would be no terminal conversion cost. The county system can communicate with both kinds of terminals, but the county had indicated that it would only support EBCDIC terminals, which would mean either greater cost for new terminals or additional expense for conversion.

The Chamber of Commerce committee's findings were presented at the board of education study meeting on October 11, 1978. The proposal called for the district to merge with the county for administrative needs such as accounting, payroll, personnel, inventory, purchasing, and budget preparation, such consolidation to be effective by January 1, 1979. This proposal left the district free to lease or purchase a new computer to process student-related data in regard to registration, enrollment, attendance, etc. According to a report by Deuble, it would cost $596,000 to lease a new computer over a five-year period, with ownership, if desired, at the end of that period. Purchasing a new computer outright would cost $567,000. Deuble's report also noted an anticipated saving of $75,000 in 1979 on administrative processing as a result of the merger.[64] At the regular Board of Education meeting on October 17, 1978, the board approved the compromise proposal as prepared by the Chamber of Commerce committee.

Prior to the formation of the district's committee on long-range data-processing needs, Page had planned to add a fourth HP2000 computer system for expanded instructional facilities. This computer was a discontinued model and considered reasonable. BOCES had agreed to pay approximately 50 percent of the cost; the school district was to pay the balance from capital funds, with some money from Title I mathematics laboratory equipment funds. When the district committee investigated the data-processing needs of the district, it recommended the purchase of a more sophisticated and more expensive model, HP3000, with the capability of handling all of the administrative data processing (student-related and business), as well as expanding the instructional function. BOCES was asked to contribute the same dollar amount as it would have toward the HP2000, since this would represent its expected share of the instructional capability. At this point, BOCES decided not to help fund the HP3000. Because the HP3000 was to be used primarily for student-related management, participation in funding by BOCES would violate its own student-related system program that it had been developing. However, BOCES is participating (75 percent of the cost) in the purchase of a fourth HP2000 for instructional purposes, as originally planned.

With the present arrangement, the business portion of the administrative functions (payroll, accounting, etc.) is being taken over by the city-county system. A stripped-down version of the HP3000, with lesser capabilities than the model desired, will be leased for administrative purposes. Forty-eight terminals of a possible capacity of 64 are expected to be utilized initially.[66]

With the approval of the school district-city-county merger on October 17, 1978, the school district officially entered the conversion period to put into effect the decision of the board of education. Unofficially, the commitment to a merger had been made much earlier. By October 17, the work of converting the school district's on-going business programs to the format of the county computer was well underway, and decisions on the reorganization of the Data Processing Center were under consideration. The county's software must be modified to suit the district's needs in areas such as the teachers' retirement system data and the semimonthly payroll for teachers.

The HP3000 computer system for student-related data processing will be located at Central Tech and will be the responsibility of the Central Data Processing Unit. Half of the data-processing staff will remain at the Central Data Processing location to work on the county system. Half of the staff from Central Data Processing is expected to work at Central Tech to handle operations and software preparation. Page expects to serve as technical consultant to aid in the implementation process and the use of the equipment.

With the phasing out of the IBM 360/30 at the Data Processing Center, the staffing positions will be in a state of fluctuation for some time. Initially, the conversion may require additional staff to cope with the task of matching district needs with county capability. After the conversion period, there will be a revaluation of staffing requirements. Some lower-level jobs will be phased out as of January 1, as outside key-punch services are more heavily relied upon. Eventually, the second shift of machine operators is expected to be eliminated.

As the student-related and business software will have different language requirements, the data-processing staff may be reorganized into two groups: one to deal with the student-related functions of data processing retained in the district; and the other to work with the county computer on business matters. The future role of Satterlee is being evaluated as changes in the organizational structure are being considered by the central office administration.

On-line capability has been one of the major issues in the negotiations between the school district, the city, and the county. Implementation of the district committee's recommendations would have provided such capability for student and business administrative purposes via the district's own computer. Had the student-related management functions also been included in the merger with on-line capability, the cost of new EBCDIC terminals for use with the county's IBM computer would have been nearly twice the cost of ASCII terminals, or additional expense would have been incurred to modify the existing ASCII mathematics laboratory terminals if new terminals were not purchased. (The county originally only would agree to support EBCDIC terminals, which would have necessitated new terminals or converters; later, the county people verbally agreed to support ASCII terminals.)[67] Because of the lack of an adequate student package for use with the county computer, the school district decided to retain this function in the district. Some needs for a large quantity of student-related data processing may be batch-processed on the county computer.

Initial negotiations with the city and county were for batch-processing of business data. The city school district believed that this offered little improvement over its present data-processing system. Although certain procedures still will be batch-processed where timeliness is not a crucial factor, it is now expected that the county will provide on-line capability for business data processing. This was apparently an inducement to persuade the school district to agree to utilize the county computer. On-line capability would allow immediate access to data stored in the county computer. It is expected also that the school district will have a Series I microcomputer (an intelligent controller) that can be utilized to edit and manipulate data to ensure accuracy prior to batch processing, a potential time saving of several days if there are errors in compiling the data. The intelligent controller also has the capability of processing the data where the data volume is low. For example, salary and wage negotiations with teachers or other district groups require processing of variables of salaries, benefits, and conditions of employment in various combinations, with such variables changing day by day as the negotiations proceed. With an intelligent controller, it is possible to call in the data base from the county computer, enter the variables, and secure a quick printout from the microcomputer of a salary package to use in conducting negotiations.

The merger with the city and county has left some concerns unresolved. One is for the continued free use of the county computer. For the past five years, the city has operated under an agreement with the county whereby the city has had its data-processing needs met by the county without charge. This agreement was recently renewed. (Actually, the city gets a bill for approximately $22,000 each month for the use of the county computer; it simply does not pay the bill.) The city wanted the school district also to take advantage of the free county service because the expected saving to the school district would be reflected in the total city budget. The county has agreed to provide use of the hardware to the school district free of charge and to meet the school district's needs for disk storage space, etc. Of course, the school district pays for materials such as paper stock. A five-year contract for free services, renegotiable in two years, has been signed. The district committee has questioned whether free use of the county computer will continue indefinitely since there is no written guarantee of this after the initial two-year period. It is possible that other school systems that do not use BOCES' computer services and have set up their own computer systems and staff (e.g., Liverpool and North Sryacuse) may question why they also cannot receive free computer use from the County of Onondaga.[68] The county's attitude seems to be one of not wanting to make a ruling at this point, but to deal with the issue if and when it arises. This attitude does little to allay the city school district's fears of being charged by the county for computer use at some future time.

Another expressed concern that has continued to plague some personnel in the city school district, but has been summarily discounted by others, is the protection of the school district's data base. Although, theoretically, all of the records and data of the district have been open to inspection in the past, it has been difficult for the city to manipulate the data to get the kind of information it might like to know, over and above what the district generally gives it. The city has accepted the kind and format of the information that the school district has provided. There now will exist a new compatability of the financial procedures both of the city and the school district in running similar programs on the same county computer. It will be easier for the city to audit the school district's books and to extract information that it might desire. This was not as technically feasible previously. Code words are expected to restrict access to the data base to authorized users. Some district personnel find that this is an acceptable safeguard; others are concerned that information may be extracted and used in ways detrimental to the district's interests. The spectre of the pressure of politics has not been diminished now that the merger has become a reality.

Other Computer-Based Projects

Over the past decade, several projects have been attempted in the school district to utilize and/or expand computer use.

Computer-Augmented Instruction in Discovery and Problem-Solving

In June 1967, a proposal of this title was developed by the Syracuse University Research Corporation (SURC) for the Syracuse City School District for funding under ESEA Title III. The project was "designed: (1) to facilitate the problem-solving and discovery skills of students, particularly those from poverty backgrounds, and (2) to prepare teachers for giving pupils discovery and problem-solving instructions."[69]

The project was planned for a three-year period with three stages:

(1) An innovative stage in which a pilot program in problem-solving

was to be planned, conducted, and evaluated;

(2) An exemplary stage wherein the features evaluated as effective were to be incorporated into certain courses in the Syracuse City School District curricula; and

(3) An adaptive stage wherein the content, computer resources, and process of both teacher training and student instruction were to be available to all courses in the school's curricula.[70]

The computer for the study was located at SURC, with 16 remote consoles (four in one room at each school) to be used during four consecutive class periods each day. The computer software package for instructional use was to be developed by SURC staff in consultation with city school teachers and educational consultants.

Mathematics and social studies were to be the initial courses with computer-aided learning. It was hoped that use of the computer would increase the competence of participating students (1) in problem-solving (by classifying data into categories and understanding which data are relevant to the solution of a problem and why); (2) in generalizing information; (3) in communicating and interacting with others in problem-solving skills; and (4) in gaining insight into alternative ways of approaching problems.[71]

On occasion, casual conversations had been held on:

> . . . the problem of establishing close, continuing, and productive relationships among those agencies in the city which might provide a synergistic force for accelerating advances in primary and secondary education . . . . It became evident in the early discussions that the simple presence of the three educational interests in the community was not enough, and that only by establishing an alliance which would involve all parties from the start could a program of lasting significance be developed.[72]

The proposal itself was the result of more formal talks in April 1966 among representatives of the city school district, Syracuse University School of Education, and SURC.

In early May 1966, the first findings were discussed; in June 1966, Gerald Cleveland, assistant superintendent for instruction, appointed a "Group for Computer Use," composed of high school teachers, to inform teachers of the program and ensure teachers' participation at the outset. Demonstrations were held for mathematics and science teachers and supervisors and for business education teachers and supervisors. A former mathematics teacher was hired to interview teachers as to their concerns and how a computer might or might not be of help.[73] The school district personnel who were the moving force in the attempt to implement this particular computer project were, primarily, Cleveland; William Bowin, mathematics supervisor; and Marie Cady, social studies supervisor.

A demonstration of the proposed project was given to members of the top staff of the school district, which included Edwin E. Weeks, Jr., then assistant superintendent, who is said to have been very influential in the decision-making processes of the district. The demonstration was unsuccessful because of equipment failure. Because of this (and perhaps the overly erudite manner of presentation of the material on the part of certain SURC personnel), Weeks apparently decided that the proposed project was not feasible. Thereafter, the proposal was brought before the board of education which declined to support it. It has been suggested that the negative decision of the board was a *pro forma* one, for the project had no chance of success once Weeks had decided against it.[74]

Computer-Based Project for Evaluation of Media for Handicapped

Between June 19, 1969 and June 30, 1974, the Special Education Department of the Syracuse City School District participated in a cooperative, computer-based project with the General Electric Research and Development Center in Schenectady, under a federally-funded, five-year contract with the Media Service and Captioned Film Branch of the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, U. S. Office of Education. The purpose of the project was to develop a systems approach to testing, evaluating, and improving instructional materials for the handicapped, as well as developing effective teaching techniques for handicapped children.[75]

The program was developed by the General Electric Research and Development Center. The consoles at Prescott School were hooked up with a computer at the Rome Air Development Center. Handicapped children throughout the Syracuse City School District were bused to Prescott School where, seated at a console, they watched films pertinent to several areas of study (social studies, mathematics, English, and health) and responded to questions about the content of the film. In the fifth and final year of the study, there was a contract with the Syracuse University Computer Center for the use of its computer for evaluation of the data.[76]

Computer-Based Educational Planning and Education Model

In 1972, the Board of Education approved the participation of the Syracuse City School District as a pilot district in a project, entitled "A Computer-Based Educational Planning and Education Model," to be fully funded under provisions of Title III of ESEA.[77] The city school district and Phoenix and Jamesville-Dewitt school districts participated. This project was intended to encourage educational planning, e.g., for enrollment, rates of inflation, etc., in relation to state aid formulas. By using a model, projections could be developed for a five-year period. The data was compiled and run on the Syracuse University computer. When the study was completed, funding was terminated. The model was available to other school districts through BOCES. However, there has apparently been little interest on the part of school districts to use this model in their planning.[78]

Guidance

The use of the computer for providing information on colleges to senior high students is a relatively new program in the city school district. To Page and Patrick Dempsey, supervisor of counseling services, the need for a more effective guidance program seemed a prime area for computerization. Dempsey wrote a proposal for state funding that was rejected. He then took the proposal to the Rosamond Gifford Charitable Corporation of Syracuse which approved a grant for licensing a guidance information system from Time Share Corporation for one year. This system was intended to provide for the use of tapes with information on colleges and occupations to enable the user to select criteria for choosing colleges and occupations. It was to include files on two- and four-year colleges and scholarships. School district capital funds were used to purchase a guidance information system terminal and to upgrade the computer for system use. The terminal was to be portable and accessible to the four public high schools and three nonpublic high schools in the city.[79]

After the first year, the program was evaluated. Since then, the license for the system has been funded from school district funds. Beginning in 1977, the rental fee paid by BOCES for computer-assisted instruction has included a charge for use of the guidance information system. Although the system can be used for occupational information, it is more frequently used to assist senior high school students in selecting a college of their choice.

Conclusions

The introduction of computer technology in the Syracuse City School District was the result of two separate decision-making processes. One resulted in the decision to use computer technology for educational purposes; the other, to use it in the administration of business affairs and the management of student-related matters.

Diversion of computer use into two separate areas has avoided the conflict of administrative and educational personnel vying for time on a shared computer. Because of the cost of computers, many school districts buy a computer for administrative use and expect also to use it for educational purposes, thereby realizing a cost saving. Too often, the capacity of the computer is not sufficient to service both routine administrative needs and fluctuating instructional demands. As Oettinger points out: "When the demands of administrative data processing and education require the facilities at precisely the same time, the argument is invariably won by whoever pays the bills.[80] In the city school district, there has been no loser, in terms of computer use, since each area has its own computer facilities. The rate of expansion of each computer facility, however, has been subject to decisions on the financial resources available to each.

The process of innovation in the school district has gone beyond the initial step of acquiring computers and has continued in innovative uses of the technology. Some proposed innovative extensions of computer use have been successfully incorporated in varying degrees into the educational program and administrative procedures; others either have failed to be adopted or successfully implemented, or were unique projects not designed to have a direct impact on the school district.

Innovative Educational Computer Use

In the Syracuse City School District, computer use was first instituted in the instructional area. (This was unusual because computers generally were bought for administrative purposes and only secondarily used for instruction.) The director of vocational education was enthusiastic about introducing new technology for which he could obtain outside funding. One such innovation was to add a course in computer technology to the curriculum of Central Tech. He could get outside funding for such a program, and the teacher of the electrical technology course could be the instructor. Students interested in electrical technology would also be interested in computer technology. With this favorable background, the district's first computer system was procured, and a computer technology course became part of the curriculum of Central Tech in the 1960s. It was the first such course in Central New York.

During the first three years, the focus of the course was on technical training in the electrical and mechanical operations of the computer. A shift to a focus on software came about, not as a change in educational policy, but because of the nontechnical training of a new teacher taking over the program. Such restructuring of course content might be said to have been fully incorporated into the program offered by Central Tech when an HP2000 computer system, acquired in 1972, allowed an expansion of data-processing teaching. The course continues to be offered as a computer science course for vocational training.

Computer-managed instruction was one of the innovative uses of new technology espoused in the Campus Plan. When this plan was fading from the scene in the late 1960s (partly as a result of its technological innovations), the idea of using the computer for individualized learning in a different fashion was quietly being explored in the city school district. Page was very much aware of social conditions impacting on the educational process, in terms of student unrest and educational performance. As a computer science teacher, he sought to lend his area of expertise to coping with these problems. It was at this point that he assumed the role of key entrepreneur for instructional computer use, a role that he has continued to enact within the school district.

With support of a colleague, Page gathered information on computer-assisted instruction and attempted to persuade the school district administrators to institute computer-assisted instruction. It was not until federal funds were available via the state to purchase a more sophisticated computer and, later, to institute a remedial mathematics program that computer-assisted instruction was adopted as an actuality. By the time funds were available, under Title I, ESEA, for the mathematics laboratories, Page had the support not only of the Board of Education, the top school administrators, the mathematics supervisor, and the Special Programs Office, but also of the Citizens Advisory Council for Title I, ESEA programs. The support of the latter group was the result of a successful presentation. Implemented as a pilot program, remedial mathematics showed such promising results that mathematics laboratories were established, first, in all of the senior high schools and, later, in all junior high schools and a majority of elementary schools.

When a second HP2000 computer system was needed to expand the instructional program, a new source of funding was necessary since government funds were not available for hardware. With the approval of the State of New York Education Department, the Syracuse City School District and BOCES jointly purchased the computer that was to provide instructional services to component districts of BOCES. This cooperative effort has continued through the purchase of a third and fourth HP2000 computer. Computer use has expanded beyond remedial mathematics and computer-science teaching. The computer is now used as a supplement in many mathematics courses and in some science and chemistry classes.

There seems to have been no controversy about adopting and implementing computer-assisted instruction in the school district, in spite of the furor over the individualized learning proposed in the Campus Plan (although some long-time school district administrators still shy away from the term "computer-managed instruction"). Computer-managed instruction was presented as a fully-developed aspect of the Campus Plan. As such, it became, in essence, a policy question on adopting or rejecting the concept of individualized learning in the Syracuse City School District in toto.

Computer-assisted instruction, on the other hand, never developed into the clear format of a policy question. Computer-assisted instruction has been gradually instituted in response to a need to counter declining mathematics competence. The availability of large sums of federal money has created the avenue for computerized instruction; and cooperative efforts with BOCES for computer purchase and computer services has expanded computer use for instructional purposes. With computer systems available, it has been but a short step to begin to use the computer to enrich regular curriculum material and to institute a guidance information program. The school district has thus acquired, rather than instituted, a policy of individualized learning, although on a limited scale.

In the instructional use of the computer in the district, it would appear that individuals, as well as available external funds, have been crucial in its implementation. Lang and Page have been the catalysts around whom instructional uses of the computer have developed. Since 1974, a small coalition has evolved. This coalition can vary in its composition, but generally involves persons directly associated with the education of students (teachers, subject supervisors, a Title I mathematics laboratory coordinator, and, where necessary, a representative of the Planning and Evaluation Department, which is the conduit for securing external funding). When plans for a new program are sufficiently developed, the coalition is expanded to include the support of the superintendent and his immediate staff who decide whether to take it to the next level of decision-making: the board of education.

The key person in this successful coalition has been Page, who is competent and has been in the district long enough to command respect. Some of his colleagues, who were important in getting computer-assisted instruction introduced, have since left; but he has continued to be central to the growth of computer-assisted instruction in the Syracuse City School District. His philosophies, his mode of operation, and his reputation all have contributed to the direction and rate of expansion of computer-assisted instruction.

Page came into the district as a junior high mathematics teacher. Two years later, he was offered the job of computer science teacher at Central Tech. Although his knowledge of computer science teaching was limited, he saw this as an opportunity to do something that he thought he would like; therefore, he accepted the position. The mathematics supervisor at that time encouraged Page to use the available equipment to its fullest extent. Page approaches the implementation of new programs cautiously, but he also looksfor opportunities. When ESEA Title I money could be obtained to set up a pilot remedial mathematics program, Page was in the right place at the right time. The need and the money coincided.

Page does not consider his methods of achievement as political, and certainly they are not used to bring pressure. He has developed a reputation for technical and educational expertise in the area of computer use. It would seem that this is a major reason for his effectiveness in gaining support from essential people in the decision-making process.

While Page was highly visible in the preadoption stages of computer-assisted instruction, he maintains a low profile during the decision-making stages on adoption and implementation. However, he is still important to the entire process. He deals with vendors, and he talks to BOCES' representatives, along with the executive associate superintendent for school services. He also was a member of the District Committee on the school district-city-county merger. Page currently serves on an area Computer-Assisted Instruction Committee sponsored by BOCES, a subcommittee of BOCES' Joint Management Team. This committee is looking at what is being done in computer-assisted instruction elsewhere and what is feasible in the city school district. As a result of the committee's efforts, there has been lobbying to reduce the cost of telephone lines for dial access and a series of workshops to be conducted for chief school officials to teach them what a computer is and what can be accomplished with it.

Page makes a key point of his success to date when he says, "It is a good thing I am a teacher because I have to make decisions to teach them what it [computer use] is all about."[81] Understanding on the part of those people empowered to make decisions at whatever level is crucial to successful adoption of any innovation.

Innovative Administrative Computer Use

There has emerged no clear picture of the process of decision-making to buy the initial computer in 1965, other than that the acquisition of a computer for administrative needs was a response to what Barry called, "a felt need."[82] This is likely a reflection of its being an administrative decision rather than one of policy. A new tool was needed to more effectivly deal with the increased routine workload. Only the cost of the computer might have distinguished this decision from those decisions regularly made by the chief school administrators. If the funds were available, it would be unlikely that conscious coalition-building would be necessary or that controversy would be present.

Computer use was adopted and implemented in 1965 and has imperceptibly become a standard mode of operation for the administrative staff of the school district. Business functions seem to have been routinely added to the list of uses of the computer. No individuals have emerged as principal actors on the way to routinization of business applications.

Increasing the innovative uses of the computer has sometimes run into difficulty in the area of student-related management. The administrators of the school district soon recognized that information processing pertaining to management of the student body was a recurring, demanding, and growing task, the burden of which could be facilitated by computer use. Even before the district acquired a computer, some scheduling was run on the Syracuse University computer. Acquiring its own computer meant that the school district could implement additional programs to cope with informational needs. However, it was not until 1971, when the expertise of Satterlee was brought in to build up a student data base, that computerization of student data became fully incorporated into the commitment of the school district to deal most effectively and efficiently with burgeoning informational requirements.

Test scoring, attendance reports, and a secondary school reporting system have all been computerized; and plans exist to expand the reporting system and upgrade the attendance record to be more timely. While these programs have proceeded fairly smoothly, two other innovative uses of the computer have not.

Scheduling was the first student information program to be computerized in a limited form. Extension of the program throughout the secondary schools proceeded without incident until the program was expanded to remove the responsibility of building the master schedule from the building administrators. Then, there was resistance on the part of most building administrators to incorporating this feature in the scheduling procedures.

Bus scheduling is an innovative use of the computer that administrators have struggled to successfully implement in the school district. They are fully aware of the advantages of a computerized transportation schedule to cope with the demands of getting buses and children together at the right time, to and from school. Twice, they have committed their limited resources to search outside the district for a solution to the transportation problem. With the LBK effort, they reached the point of adopting and attempting to implement a transportation program and found it mainly unworkable. In-house attempts to implement a successful computerized system have not fared much better. Implementation has been hampered by a set of variables, some of which are outside the control of the city school district administrators.

School District-City-County Merger

The restructuring of the functions of business and student-related data processing is not part of a decision-making process of innovating. However, this merger is of interest because of the alignment of persons and needs, which necessitated a compromise, and the fact that the decision-making process on realignment of computer use was similar to that for innovating in an educational environment. Awareness of a need for long-range planning in the area of computer use was stimulated by Fowler Senior High School's request for its own minicomputer and was further highlighted by a survey of teachers' needs. A search for a solution was conducted by the district committee which consisted of: Page and Satterlee; two top administrators, the executive associate superintendent for school services and the assistant to the superintendent; and district personnel representing a cross-section of school district departments.

The search involved vendor presentations and cost analysis, and culminated in committee recommendations to the board of education to purchase the HP3000 both for administrative and student-related functions. The recommendations of the committee failed to be adopted by the board because the city and county had joined forces to persuade the board to switch all of its administrative functions to the county computer. At least one board member, Vice President Robert E. Cecile, aligned himself with the city-county representatives; and it was evident that a compromise solution would be the best that the city school district could hope for, given political realities.[83]

A Chamber of Commerce committee, reactivated at the request of Cecile (apparently prompted by Kaiser of County Data Processing), searched for a solution to the impasse. Its proposal for a solution was adopted by the board of education: the county, via the city, would take over the business data processing and provide on-line capability, and the city school district would buy a less-sophisticated computer for student-related data processing. The retention of student-related management was influenced by the fact that the county could not readily provide a student software program compatible with its computer system. The assistant to the superintendent emphasized that the computer used for student-related data could also be used for instructional purposes. This was instrumental in persuading Cecile to accept the proposed purchase of a new computer.

There have been speculations as to the dynamics involved in this issue. The city had realized a saving by having the county do its data processing, and this had been its main argument for the school district to use the county computer. The county also used the "free-of-charge" persuasion; but, apparently, other, less tangible reasons existed. The County Data Processing director is said to be personally committed to the philosophy of metropolitanization, and any instance of centralization he can foster would further this concept. Additionally, it is reported that he would like to replace and/or supplement the computer hardware. Approval of such a step would be made more difficult if, as is reported, his facilities are presently underutilized by perhaps as much as 65 percent of capacity. Getting the school district's business data processing would be at least a step toward centralizing data processing and would generate more work for the county computer.

The division of administrative functions into two separate entities is now being implemented, as staffs and procedures are being reorganized. The merger has been accepted de facto. However, it is likely that an extended period of actual operation will be necessary and concerns of some district personnel need to be allayed before external data processing will be incorporated fully into the routine operations of the city school district.

Other Innovative Computer Use

Of the other computer-based projects discussed in this report, the Computer-Based Project for Evaluation of Media for Handicapped and the Computer-Based Educational Planning and Education Model were limited, federally-funded computer projects in which the city school district participated but which were not expected to have a direct, lasting impact on the school district.

The Computer-Augmented Instruction in Discovery and Problem Solving project was a proposed innovative use of the computer that failed to be adopted by the board of education. Had it been adopted and successfully implemented, this use might have become an accepted part of the district's program. Representatives of three local groups joined forces in an attempt to get this project adopted and implemented. The possible availability of federal funds provided the impetus to proceed with the plan. Within the school district, an internal coalition formed. It consisted primarily of the assistant superintendent of schools, the mathematics supervisor, and the social services supervisor. Support of teachers was elicited by providing them with information on the project, by scheduling demonstrations, and by conducting a survey of teachers' concerns and expectations in regard to computer use. The careful attention to building lower-level, internal support of the proposal was of no avail because an influential member of the top administrative staff had been negatively impressed by an unsuccessful demonstration. When the proposal was placed before the board of education for approval, it was apparently a foregone conclusion that it would go no further.

The use of the computer for access to guidance information is another area in which Page played an important role. He and the supervisor of counseling services found that they were in agreement on the feasibility and desirability of having a computerized guidance program. When state funding was not forthcoming, a charitable foundation was contacted. Successful procurement of funds from this source led the school district to adopt the use of the guidance information system. The district purchased the necessary terminal and upgraded the computer to implement the program. Foundation funding was for one year. Positive evaluation at the end of the first year persuaded the school district to license the guidance system from its own funds. The program, as tested, was incorporated into the resources that the district could offer its students.

Future of Computer Use

On-going programs of computer use would seem to be well-entrenched in the city school district. However, expansion of the innovative uses of the computer in the future may be subject to a variety of philosophical and practical influences. In terms of administrative organization, the school district is in transition. Inflation, legal limits of taxation, and declining school enrollment have created fiscal pressures that are being reflected in cut-backs at all levels, including the higher echelons of decision-makers.

The manner in which reorganization is affecting the channels of organizational decision-making may also be reflective of the philosophies of the superintendent. Superintendent Johnson is considered a strong administrator who has concentrated decision-making at the highest level of the administrative staff. The chief decision-makers are said to be the superintendent and his assistant, Meno. Assistant superintendents in the past had been highly involved in the decision-making process and often considered their roles as being those of gatekeepers at the threshold of the superintendent's office. They served both as screeners of lower-level requests and as checks on the superintendent himself. These gatekeepers have now been eliminated; and, at present, every building administrator is directly in line with the superintendent's office. With the channels to the superintendent's office less obstructed, the initial stages of proposed innovations may proceed more quickly through decision-making levels, but the base of support for any given proposition may be weakened in the process.

Changes in the organizational structure at the administrative level have been instituted over the past two years and are still in process. Assessing changes in the board of education, which is responsible for school district policy, is best done by comparing the 1960s with the 1970s. The 1960s might be called the decade of innovation, for these were the years of the introduction of both educational and administrative computer systems and the proposal of the technologically innovative Campus Plan. It is said that not only is the present board more conservative than its counterpart of the 1960s, but that it is also more politically motivated. Such a political orientation has created further division within the board, and it is claimed that there is no longer the same unity of purpose to achieve the primary goal of quality education.[84] It is also said that the present board members give less credence to the opinions of professional educators. Board members are no longer content merely to set policy; they tend to become more actively involved in the school district's affairs. If indeed they are reluctant to rely on professional judgment in considering matters in which they do not have personal expertise, innovative computer use may require in-depth exposition to gain the approval of the current board of education.

While the process of organizational decision-making and the practical and philosophical orientations of the decision-makers are major determinants of future innovative uses of the computer, the availability of funds is crucial to any expanded programs for computer use. Computer-assisted instruction has been initiated and expanded by the influx of federal funds and by cooperative efforts with BOCES. The back-to-basics attitude that has gained momentum over the past few years presents a paradox for local funding for computer use. The computer has demonstrated its value in remedial mathematics and, thus, seems assured of a continuing place as a tool for help in this basic subject. Expanding computer use to provide enrichment for a wide variety of subjects may suffer, both from overall local fiscal constraints and from the channeling of limited resources into increasing competency in a few basic subjects.

In spite of these factors, which may impact upon expansion of computer use, innovative computer programs are almost certain to be investigated and proposed for adoption and implementation in the future. According to Kenneth Laudon, computer technology offers "not just an increase in speed of calculation but offers as well a quantum leap in the amount and kinds of things that can be done within a human framework." Furthermore, the availability of computers produces what Laudon calls an "unlocking effect." In the educational environment, old educational and administrative dreams "become realizable, and the protective limitations of a traditional information technology melt away."[85] New horizons in education and its supporting processes open up, but new questions and concerns that give pause to educators are also created. Individualized learning has been held to be the ideal goal of the educational process, in spite of its raising philosophical questions concerning the effective functioning of a possible overly-diverse society. Fully individualized learning does lie within the realm of possibilities of computer technology.

The Syracuse City School District has been conservative in its use of the computer, particularly in the area of computer-based education. However, it has started upon the individualized learning path with its programs of computer-assisted instruction. Computer-assisted instruction has bought time for the district to increase students' competency in mathematics and, in a small way, to deal with sociological problems of its constituency. How far and how fast the district wishes to travel on the path to greater utilization of individualized learning, as educational technological advances and funds are available, may depend on acceptance of a clear policy of promoting individualized learning. On the other hand, the district may continue to advance piecemeal, until commitment to individualized learning becomes a de facto policy. Either route will require one or more interested educators who actively search out new programs and build effective coalitions to push their propositions through the channels, gathering support at each level to make the institution of new programs a reality.

The present use of computers is laying the groundwork for the future, when costs will be lower and needed equipment will have been invented to make bold strides forward in the education of young people. Page says, "Data processing people are always looking into the future, planning on replacements for their systems and looking for where to get support." If this is true, innovative computer use will not lack advocates within the Syracuse City School District.[86]

NOTES

1. This idea is attributed to British scientist and educator Eric Ashby, quoted in "Computer Programmed for a Revolution," The New York Times, April 30, 1978.

2. Patrick Suppes, "The Uses of Computers in Education," Scientific American, September 1966, p. 207.

3. Arthur S. Melmed, associate director, Finance and Productivity, and Thomas G. Sticht, associate director, Basic Skills, National Institute of Education, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Domestic and International Scientific Planning, Analysis, and Cooperation of the Committee on Science and Technology, U. S. House of Representatives, October 1977 (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1978), p. 355.

4. Alvin W. Weinberg, "Social Problems and National Socio-Technical Institutes," Applied Science and Technological Progress, a report to the Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, by the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1967), p. 416.

5. Kenneth C. Landon, Computers and Bureaucratic Reform (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 6.

6. Hardware is the term for the actual machines which are the physical components of the computer; they can be either mechanical or electronic.

7. With on-line capability, terminals have access to the central computer for immediate retrieval of data.

8. Software is the term for the complex of programs (i.e., sets of coded instructions that direct the computer to perform logical or mathematical operations on stored information) used to input/store, process, and display information.

9. "Instructional Technology" - A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, November 1972, p. 6.

10. Ibid., p. 8.

11. Melmed and Sticht, Hearings, op. cit., p. 356.

12. Patrick Suppes, op. cit., p. 220.

13. The Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES) is a one-to-three-county regional board of education and part of the legal structure provided by New York State Educational Law to finance school services and practices in two or more local school districts. BOCES was a pioneer in providing computer-assisted instruction services. Because the Syracuse City School District program proved to be more feasible, BOCES contracts with the city school district for these services which it resells to its component districts.

14. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides for noncompetitive formula grants based on the number of low-income children residing in a school district, such sums to be districuted through the states.

15. Interview with Louise Lutz, Title I Mathematics Laboratory Coordinator, October 3, 1978.

16. The Syracuse City School District budget is included in the City of Syracuse budget. *See*: *1978 Budget for the City of Syracuse*. In 1979, the city school district's budget is projected to be 47 percent of the city budget of $67 million. *See*: *1979 Budget for the City of Syracuse*.

17. *1978 Budget for the City of Syracuse*.

18. Batch processing is the processing of a number of separate computer jobs in the same machine run.

19. Interview with Eugene Larcher, November 20, 1978.

20. Interview with John Merrill, November 20, 1978.

21. School districts associated with BOCES receive state aid to help defray their costs. The City of Syracuse is one of the "Big Five" cities in New York State not eligible for such aid if they were to use BOCES services.

22. Minutes of Syracuse Board of Education meeting, June 18, 1974, p.16.

23. The problem of low comprehension by so many students in the basic skills led the board of education to designate the focus of the 1974-75 school year on reading and mathematics and to direct that the superintendent and his staff make every effort to concentrate the attention of the total staff and community on development of the competency in these areas. *See*: "Reading and Math Are Top Priority," in the Minutes of the Syracuse Board of Education meeting, July 16, 1974, p. 10.

24. Interview with Louise Lutz, *op*. *cit*.

25. Minutes of special meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, July 29, 1976.

26. Ibid.

27. Minutes of meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, March 21, 1978.

28. 1975 Budget for the City of Syracuse.

29. 1979 Budget for the City of Syracuse.

30. Interview with Robert Cullivan, assistant to the director, Planning and Evaluation, October 3, 1978.

31. Ibid.

32. Interview with Louise Lutz, op. cit.

33. Louise Lutz, "A Brief History of CAI in Title I Math Labs in Syracuse," Report on Computer Assisted Instruction, Summer 1978.

34. Quality Education for Elementary Schools, first Supplement to the Report to the Syracuse Board of Education on a Proposal for the Campus Plan, May 1968, p. 2.

35. Ibid., p. 14.

36. Barbara Howard, "Rejecting an Educational Park: The Demise of the Syracuse Campus Plan," Adoption and Utilization of Urban Technology: A Decision-Making Study, final report prepared by the Syracuse Research Corporation for the National Science Foundation, September 1977.

37. Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 funded grants for innovative programs on a competitive basis.

38. Howard, op. cit.; see also Guthrie S. Birkhead, How the Campus Proposal Failed in Syracuse, New York (Eastern Regional Institute for Education, June 1970).

39. Interview with Franklyn S. Barry, September 27, 1978.

40. Howard, op. cit., pp. A-54 - A-55.

41. Birkhead, op. cit., p. 41.

42. The "machine" would have been educational or closed-circuit television or film strips, tapes, slides, etc. See Howard, op. cit., p. A-115.

43. There was validity to this question for, even today, computer-managed instruction is difficult to implement. Management of individualized learning requires a great deal of effort on the part of the teacher who is using the computer as a tool to monitor and

and evaluate a student's program and then attempts to tailor the educational material to his/her particular needs.

44. Figures furnished by Julius E. Deuble, executive associate superintendent, School Services.

45. 1965 Budget for the City of Syracuse.

46. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, June 17, 1969.

47. 1975 Budget for the City of Syracuse.

48. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, May 11, 1976 and April 19, 1977.

49. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, February 18, 1975.

50. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, April 15, 1975.

51. Syracuse Herald-Journal, November 25, 1975.

52. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, December 21, 1976.

53. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, March 21, 1978.

54. 1979 Budget for the City of Syracuse.

55. A contract for computer services with BOCES would have been particularly expensive. Other districts outside the city that use BOCES' services are entitled to state aid to help pay for them; the city school district is not eligible for such aid in connection with BOCES services. See footnote #21.

56. This is a procedure to illustrate how fast a program can be run.

57. Syracuse Herald-Journal, May 23, 1978.

58. Syracuse Herald-Journal, October 12, 1978.

59. Syracuse Herald-Journal, May 25, 1978.

60. Syracuse Herald-Journal, June 29, 1978.

61. In an interview with Richard R. Satterlee, October 6, 1978, his answer to this statement that appeared in the Syracuse Herald-Journal on July 1, 1978, was that, except for payroll and accounting, the City of Syracuse and the Syracuse City School

District do very different data processing. The city's data processing is very repetitive compared to the student-related procedures of the school district.

62. Syracuse Herald-Journal, August 5, 1978.

63. Extended Binary-Coded-Decimal Interchange Code (EBCDIC) terminals handle 8 bit codes. American Standard Code for Information Interchange (ASCII) terminals handle 7 bit codes, usually using an 8th bit for parity. With a converter, either terminal can be modified to handle the codes of the other terminal.

64. Syracuse Herald-Journal, Ocober 12, 1978.

65. Syracuse Herald-Journal, October 18, 1978.

66. Part of the inducement to buy this HP3000 (a more advanced model than the HP2000) was that it had the potential of being used for instructional purposes as well as student-related management.

67. Interview with Richard R. Satterlee, October 6, 1978.

68. Buying one's own minicomputer may be a trend in school districts; the number of districts using BOCES' computer services is declining.

69. Proposal to United States Office of Education for Computer Augmented Instruction in Discovery and Problem Solving, submitted by the Syracuse City School District, June 1967, p. 2.

70. Ibid., p. 26.

71. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

72. Ibid. p. 36.

73. Lawrence G. Page was one of the teachers who participated in demonstrating sessions. Mrs. Lawrence G. Page was the mathematics teacher who conducted the survey.

74. Interviews with Gerald Cleveland, Lionel Naum of Syracuse Research Corporation, and Lawrence G. Page.

75. Proposal for "Computer-Based Project for Evaluation of Media for Handicapped," appended to the minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, April 17, 1973.

76. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, April 17, 1973.

77. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, June 20, 1972.

78. Interview with Julius E. Deuble, October 24, 1978.

79. Minutes of the meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, October 21, 1975.

80. Anthony G. Oettinger, Run, Computer, Run (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 196.

81. Interview with Lawrence G. Page, November 14, 1978.

82. Interview with Franklyn S. Barry, op. cit.

83. While the superintendent and the top staff were supportive of the district committee's plan, they did not join with the committee to present a united front against the city and county. The political implications of resisting the city and county were evident to these decision-makers. One possible repercussion could be difficulty in getting equipment in the future.

84. The Post-Standard, November 8, 1978, p. 11.

85. Kenneth C. Laudon, Computers and Bureaucratic Reform (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 6.

86. Interview with Lawrence G. Page, op. cit.

C

THE HOUSE PLAN IN THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT: MANAGERIAL INNOVATION IN A SINGLE SCHOOL

by

Thomas A. Dorsey

(Footnotes on p. C-14)

THE HOUSE PLAN IN THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT:
MANAGERIAL INNOVATION IN A SINGLE SCHOOL

Introduction

The House Plan is an organizational and managerial innovation introduced into Roosevelt Junior High School in the 1967-1968 school year by a group of school administrators and teachers. At the time that the House Plan was instituted, the Syracuse educational system and Roosevelt Junior High School (hereinafter Roosevelt) were caught in the turmoil of the late 1960s with its civil rights emphasis, campus disturbances, and urban riots. The population of Roosevelt was composed of approximately sixty percent Black students and forty percent White students and students from other races. The school was plagued with substantial truancy, a severe annual turnover in teaching personnel, some violence in the school, and other disruptions in the educational atmosphere caused by the general climate of social unrest. One respondent mentioned the occasional experience of finding a television crew in the school corridors looking for news of the latest unrest in the building as reinforcing the tendency of the students to be disruptive. In general, however, school administrators and teachers could not separate the social conditions from the rejection of traditional authority in the schools in their efforts to find a solution to the turbulence in the schools.

Awareness: The Origins of the House Plan

The growing turmoil of the first half of the decade (1960-1965) constituted a background problem in summer 1967 when a group of Syracuse educators met in a summer workshop on the Continuous Progress Program (CPP), funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Involved in that workshop were two instructional specialists, Jack Weaver and Pat Leo, who were also trained under Title I auspices. Both worked at Roosevelt where Weaver was vice principal for instruction.

The CPP approach in the Syracuse school system was a graduated program of instruction that allowed substantial individualization of instruction within the curriculum, based on the needs of each student. The summer workshop of 1967 concentrated on mathematics, one of the four content areas in the junior high curriculum that also included science, social studies, and English. Weaver recalls that the basic concept of the House Plan was triggered by a teacher in the workshop who argued that the objectives of CPP could not be achieved in mathematics. That is, students coming from the sixth grade could not be injected into the junior high school curriculum at points appropriate for their individual development. Rather, they would have to begin in seventh grade, with all other students, at a fixed point in the curriculum.

As a result of this challenge, Weaver and Leo tackled the task of individualizing instructional packets for each student in one mathematics class at Roosevelt. The students seemed to accept the new materials and the fairly complex steps for handling them very well, and the approach rapidly spread to the entire mathematics department.[1] The favorable response of the students to the new program apparently contrasted sharply with the increasing problem of classroom discipline. (As many as 35 or 40 disciplinary cases could occur in one day.) The basic question that bothered the teachers and administrators was, "Why?" A consensus emerged that a new unity of purpose was needed among teachers, students, and administrators. One respondent characterized this as a need for a "family" approach, one in which the rules and regulations governing behavior were internalized, with mutual goals acceptable to all that would also be beneficial to individual interests. The need to promote this sense of individuality, coupled with a goal-orientation, led the teachers to propose the creation of "mini-houses" within each department to overcome the logistical problems associated with individualization in a large school. In essence, this thrust called for the creation of smaller instructional groups with greater emphasis on the individual interests of the students. The idea became so persuasive to the teachers that they pressed the administrators for total implementation by September 1969.

Design and Implementation: The House Plan Emerges

The pressure to restructure the mathematics department along organizational lines led to serious consideration of the restructuring of the entire school curriculum, since changes in the mathematics department could not be made without affecting other departments. At the same time, there was a growing trend among educational experts to emphasize the use of "self-contained" classrooms, with the exception of special activities such as music, art, or gym. The administrators also identified a third element contributing to the need for reorganization: the sixth grade students, received from the four or five feeder schools supplying Roosevelt, were nearly overwhelmed by the transition from the self-contained, sixth-grade classroom to the departmentalization of the junior high school with its complicated schedules and classroom changes.

Several other ideas concerning reorganization of the school curriculum were also proposed during this period. These ideas contributed to the final development of the House Plan. One was the creation of "interest-centered schools" focused on a broad area of student interest (e.g., performing arts).[2] Another, proposed by Weaver and others, was the development of a "transitional" middle school in which the sixth grade would be contained, the seventh grade would be semicontained, and the eighth grade would be fully departmentalized, resulting in the phasing of students into a high school curriculum. This latter idea also involved either the elimination of the ninth grade as redundant or the separation of all ninth grades into a single school[3] which would act as a single feeder school for high school. None of these proposals were adopted when they were proposed, but the concept of the transitional middle school obviously contributed to the eventual design of the House Plan.

The Final Design of the House Plan

Before we proceed to further consideration of the development of this innovation, it is important that the reader have a clear picture of the plan in mind. Otherwise, further discussion could result in substantial confusion, particularly for a reader unfamiliar with basic secondary educational management. The essential feature of the House Plan is that it constituted a managerial and organizational change and that no fiscal or physical changes were required (although some physical changes improved the final outcome). Thus, to an observer in the school, no manifest differences appear in comparison to any other junior high school or middle school.

Physically, the school is composed of a set of contained classrooms with individual teachers and classes of approximately twenty-five students working at three grade levels. In fact, however, the entire school is divided into discrete groups (houses) of students who are working in an interdisciplinary environment at individual paces, under the CPP approach. Each grade level is divided into two houses of approximately 125 students each (e.g., the seventh grade is composed of House 1 and House 2). Each house is then divided into classes of 25 students, with each teacher handling the individual classes in a separate area. This subdivision of students permits easier homogeneous grouping of individuals at similar stages of progress and also permits students making rapid progress to be advanced from one house to another during the course of the school year.

This organizational change was facilitated by the physical design of Roosevelt. The building consists of three stories, divided in half by a corridor running the length of the building. It thus became logical to place one grade level (two houses) on each floor, with one house on each side of the building. This facilitated the ease of movement from one classroom to another for changes in subjects. This was particularly the case for students progressing faster in one content area. It also minimized turmoil in the school corridors.

The stratification of the grade levels led to the next, most striking innovation in the House Plan. As the students progressed each year from grade to grade, their teachers moved with them to teach the same content area in the next year. When the ninth grade graduated, the teachers started the cycle again by returning to the seventh grade and picking up the new entering class. Physically, this entailed an annual move by all teachers from one floor of the building to another, but it maintained the established relationships between students and teachers.

With the organization of teachers and grades into levels within the school, it also occurred to the faculty to provide administrative and support services in the same manner. Because the school already had three administrators (a principal and two vice principals), it was decided to place one administrator physically on each floor, with the responsibility for that group of students. Since these staff members also moved with their students, the relationship between professionals and students was maintained and intensified during the students' time in the school.

Implementation of the House Plan

Over the course of the 1968 school year, the framework of the organizational arrangement, outlined above, took shape. The initial response of the teachers and administrators was favorable. Only the ninth grade teachers resisted the idea as a group because they viewed themselves as high school teachers and did not want to be rotated back to the seventh grade every three years. This initial resistance was resolved after a short time through the efforts of one of the instructional specialists and the peer pressure of the seventh and eighth grade teachers.

With the actual implementation of the program, the benefits of the arrangement quickly became apparent. One of the first effects was the institution of interdisciplinary staff meetings within each house. This enabled all the teachers in each house to discusss mutual problems on a daily basis at a common time, which was quickly formalized as the earliest period in the morning. It also permitted substitute teachers to familiarize themselves with the operation of the program and the status of their class, immediatly on arriving at the school. This resulted in a better coordination of the daily curriculum plans and was well received by the substitute teachers.

Within six weeks of the beginning of the school year, the daily planning sessions within each house were viewed by the teachers as actually exceeding their needs. By that time, the house staff was fully aware of the needs and characteristics of its students but was experiencing a sense of isolation from the total school environment. As a result, the teachers proposed that the planning period be utilized for the house staff on three days and for all faculty and administrators in the school on the other two days. This arrangement became routinized over the remainder of the school year and has continued since.

The use of the planning period also provided an opportunity for parents to meet with all of their children's teachers at one time. Parents were encouraged to attend these meetings and discuss the individual needs of their children. Later, students who were judged to be mature enough to benefit from the discussions also were included in these sessions. As a result, the staff, parents, and students participated in sessions that had, as their principal focus, the needs of the individual student.

At approximately the same time (November 15, 1968), it became apparent to the staff that a small percentage (five percent) of the students with learning and behavioral problems were not adjusting well to the flexible nature of the program.[4] The evaluation of these students was slightly delayed, pending the assignment of a special education teacher; but, once they had been evaluated, a male teacher's aide was assigned to the program and a contained classroom was set up for these students. This contained classroom (which apparently came to be called the "in and out" room) was designed to deal with individualists but did not prevent students from returning to the appropriate house. The administrators regarded it as a necessary component of the program for dealing with contingencies because, ipso facto, the newly designed House Plan could not anticipate all of the needs of 750 to 800 students.

The redeployment of guidance counselors to individual assignments on each floor also led to changes in managing students' needs. Under the earlier departmental system, teachers were not involved in the adjustment of individual student's schedules. That task was centralized in the guidance counselors, and the students often manipulated the system to their advantage. It was not unusual for students to tell teachers that they had been reassigned to other classes or to appear in classes with schedule cards reassigning them to those classes without the teachers' knowledge. As a result, students could avoid certain classes or maintain cliques, which could be disruptive. In addition, the practice generated some understandable resentment among teachers who felt that they were not participating in a process that affected their responsibilities.

The problems attendant on this arrangement were avoided by the inclusion of the counselors in the house-planning sessions. Scheduling changes for students became joint decisions of both teachers and counselors, and students could no longer make representations to individual teachers about their schedules that could not be immediately challenged. Accordingly, despite the additional complexity of scheduling for the schoolwide implementation of the House Plan, there were distinct advantages with respect to the maintenance of stable scheduling for the remainder of the school year. Furthermore, after the first year of implementation, many of the individual problems were solved by virtue of the teachers' familiarity with the students in their individual houses.

Direct involvement of counselors in the daily planning process provided better coordination for student counseling. A student counseling center was established to help deal with individual counseling problems and to handle the disturbing students during regular class periods. Guidance counselors were also assigned to each grade level and were involved directly in team planning sessions. They were utilized to arrange and coordinate conferences with parents and to monitor and direct the solutions proposed to address individual student's needs. The counseling staff was also involved in managing the tutorial programs and in arranging tutorial services provided by outside agencies.

Impact of the House Plan Changes

During the first year of the program, the faculty found some substantial changes in the students' and teachers' attitudes toward school. In general, students' involvement in school activities and their enthusiasm for education showed marked increases. Teachers' morale improved, and administrative benefits were immediately apparent. Thus, overall, the reorganization of the traditional approach seemed to have immediate salutory effects with respect to specific problems endemic to the school.

Students' tardiness and truancy showed substantial decline. Although the beginning of classes had been advanced to 9:00 a.m. with the adoption of the new program, tardiness fell sharply from a level of 3474 for the first two months of the 1968-1969 school year to 900 for the comparable period in the next year.[5] The number of students on some form of disciplinary report dropped from 500 to 376 during this period. At the same time, the degree of severity of the disciplinary problems also declined sharply.

Parent-teacher conferences became routinized rather than a matter of necessity arising from the student's performance or behavior. Statistics for prior years were not kept, but there were 171 direct and 523 phone contacts with parents during the first two months of the program. One house hosted a reception for parents during the morning planning period and repeated it in the afternoon. These were well-attended.

As noted, an improvement in managing the use of substitute teachers also arose from the planning sessions. Generally, substitute teachers receive little advance briefing concerning their class. With the introduction of the morning planning sessions, substitutes were able to sit down with the other teachers in the house, before class, and familiarize themselves with the individual needs of their students. Questions relating to school procedure, classroom discipline, and other matters could be clarified at that session. This made the substitute's job easier and probably encouraged the substitutes to return when called. Teachers' absences from school did not change notably from one year to the next, so it is difficult to assess whether there were significant changes resulting from the new schedule.

A related element in the managerial change was the intangible matter of teachers' morale. Certainly, the advent of any change in an organization's routine can change individual attitudes, and it is difficult to assess what causal effects may have occurred. In the case of the House Plan, this problem is complicated by the fact that more than half of the teachers in the school left in the summer, prior to the institution of the plan. Nevertheless, the progress report submitted to the superintendent around November 19[illegible] presents some detailed comments about teachers' morale that are relevant here. The document states:

> Morale overall has been very good among the faculty. A variety of factors which stem from the House concept appear to be applicable and are cited below:
>
> a. the ability to eliminate study halls;
> b. the allotment of time to plan and review short and long-range education objectives;
> c. the ability to meet collectively in interdisciplinary groups having common goals and objectives eliminates almost all communication and organizing difficulties inherent in our former program;
> d. the ability to meet with the team of administrators virtually every morning provides constant reinforcement and clarification

of school goals. It has also greatly decreased the need for regular faculty meetings as a means of insuring clear communication;

e. the ability to meet with the Guidance staff regularly to help plan student movement has encouraged cooperation and given greater insight into the difference in job roles within the faculty. The teachers now feel that their role has been broadened in helping to determine each individual child's needs in a coordinated and organized basis;

f. the ability to meet with parents with ease has already been cited and has consequenlty helped quite extensively in decreasing disciplinary problems before they become chronic. In effect, the House plan helps to facilitate a movement in the direction of preventive rather than corrective discipline:

g. the ability to meet as departments as well as Houses has encouraged teachers to clarify their goals and to take creative steps on their own. For example, the Reading department has tested the total school population at all grade levels in order to give them a clear picture of what each childs needs are. The time and effort to meet and coordinate in the compilation of this report was initiated by the Reading staff itself. Copies of this report now being finished will be submitted in our next report;

h. the time allotted for planning has brought together our more experienced teachers with our relatively new ones in a close-knit working relationship that, for this school at least, has eliminated the 'generation-gap' in a number of instances, e.g., one experienced teacher has cited the fact that, if anyone had told her she would be able to work closely with 'such and such' a new teacher last year she would have considered it unlikely. However, this year the experienced and new teachers are working together, coordinating class work, discussing student problems, and enjoying unique educational experience.[6]

Finally, the most important aspect of the administrative changes acknowledged by the faculty was the new freedom of the administrators to interact with teachers. As the report notes, "[t]he greatest accomplishment . . . is the fact that the Administration has more time to visit classes, talk to teachers, students, and parents, and be available for general help to all."[7] This appears to have been an outgrowth of the physical reorganization, the assignment of individual administrators to individual grades, and the interdisciplinary team approach. However, it may also be accounted for, in part, by the newness of the program itself. Nevertheless, the perception both of faculty and administrators was that there was better interaction and integration of effort among the teachers and principals.

Implementation Continues

With the beginning of the second year of the innovation, substantial changes occurred at the administrative level. Jack Weaver, principal at Roosevelt in 1970 and one of the main arthitects of the program, left for a new job in November. One of the two vice principals died and was replaced by Victor Ciciarelli who would subsequently become principal. This change in administration signaled some further changes in the program which, while retaining the basic structure, produced a more direct approach to the problems of the school's pupil population.

Despite the response to the reorganization, it was the view of some of the administrative staff that discipline was still a major problem. Toward the end of 1970, one administrator left school to find two of his tires slashed. The disciplinary problems may have been aggravated by the changeover in personnel, particularly with the arrival of 25 new teachers, many of whom were ill-prepared to tackle the problems of an inner-city school.

In January 1971, Victor Ciciarelli was promoted from vice principal to principal of Roosevelt. He inherited 15 staff members from the original group involved in the adoption of the innovation and one administrator with prior experience. The new principal and his vice principal, who happened to be Black, decided that their first priority was to "get control" of the school and their second priority was a complete "evaluation of the staff." After these two goals were accomplished, everything else would follow.

At this point, it should be observed that the easiest choice for Ciciarelli would have been to abandon the House Plan as a cumbersome innovation and revert to the standard school organizational structure with which the majority of his teachers were more familiar. This is not an uncommon occurrence in an organization operating under stress, where top management is new and where personnel experienced with the innovation are in the minority. To the credit of the new principal and the designers of the House Plan, the option of retaining the basic innovation seems to have been accepted without reservations.

This is not to suggest that the new administrators chose not to change the administrative structure. On the contrary, they proceeded to institute a series of procedures designed to increase organizational controls and to produce a clear hierarchy of authority in a tightly regulated "horizontal" organization. Two major managerial techniques were used to gain greater control over the organization: (1) established procedures for every contingency; and (2) greater emphasis on and utilization of administrative assistance in the management of daily problems. In effect, the development of procedures and the use of the greater availability of central administrators (praised in the first evaluation in 1969) represented a further refinement of the original innovation. It also complemented the physical and administrative reorganization of the grades by floors. However, it involved opposition to substantial paperwork which had not been a characteristic of the original plan. These refinements are best understood by an examination of several procedural and curriculum aspects of the current House Plan of 1978, after the initial period of implementation (1971-1976) had settled down.

The basic curriculum and scheduling structure was maintained (see appendices 1 and 2), with the exception that the period for electives in the seventh grade was moved to the first period. This appears to have accomplished two goals: (1) it frees the other teachers for the morning house planning sessions; and (2) it gives the newer students a preferred activity period as their first experience each morning. It also preserves large, core blocks of time in the first two grades for the teachers to manage according to the needs of the entire class, a design element built into the original innovation. Similarly, as the following organization chart suggests, the basic arrangement of the grades, houses, and administrators has remained the same, except that the use of the term "team" has been emphasized in recent years in preference to "house."

What has occurred within this structure is a much more tightly integrated structure of managerial responsibilities, as a memorandum of September 1975 suggests.[8] By 1975, the chairperson designated for each house was responsible for its "effective, overall operation" and reported to the floor administrator. He or she also assumed responsibility for liaison with the counseling staff. Thus, four layers of administration were created, decending from principal to vice principals to house chairpersons to the teaching staff itself and the teaching aides. Each house appointed a recording secretary for its meetings and had an audio-visual coordinator and a two-member house-community liaison team. With the increasing hierarchy of the organizational structure, more finely detailed objectives, designed to facilitate discipline and promote the curriculum, were developed for teachers. Teachers were encouraged to develop consistent classroom procedures, curb tardiness and unpreparedness, reduce "acting-out" and disruptive behavior, and set up conferences with parents, particularly for disciplinary problems. Curriculum concerns were directed to the interdisciplinary approach, an emphasis on individualized instruction, and evaluation of student performance.

Discipline was also addressed by organizational refinements of two types: (1) referrals up the hierarchy; and (2) maintenance of strong contacts with parents. Teachers were encouraged to attempt to manage the unruly student directly, because personal stature is a critical asset in maintaining a working environment in a classroom. However, if this could not be achieved or if the student was unmanageable, the immediate action of removing the disruptive student to a higher authority was encouraged. Direct intervention by other, more experienced teachers was often employed. Above all, absolute consistency in the treatment of individuals was stressed. As these techniques were developed, new teachers were assigned to more experienced teachers who "broke them in" to the realities of inner-city school teaching. This included explanations of street jargon, attitudes, behavioral problems, and other factors which could disrupt the classroom. The writing and student teacher training program developed by Robert W. Cole, Jr., at the State University of New York at Buffalo was cited as a representative example of the disciplinary problems dealt with by teachers in the school.

As an outgrowth of this need for discipline, the administration introduced a very structured approach to teacher-parent contacts.

Gone was the argument of "ready accessibility" that characterized the first year of the program, and, in its place, was a teacher-initiated program that verged on establishing "quotas." All disciplinary referrals required a teacher-parent contact; or, as one memorandum put it, "You must follow up on the referral by making a parent contact (otherwise, do not send students to your administrator)." [Emphasis in original.] In November 1975, a revised memorandum on parent contacts was issued requiring weekly tabulations of parent contacts from each teacher. These were to be handed to the house secretary each Friday to be tabulated. Apparently, teachers who failed to maintain an active contact roster were looked on as unproductive by the school administration.[9] There is no way to evaluate the effects of these procedures objectively, although parents could either view the contacts as unusually supportive and evidencing strong concern for the child or as harrassing and counter-productive, particularly where parents were indifferent to the child's disciplinary problems.

Other disciplinary techniques were adopted that were designed to provide close monitoring of each individual student and to effect some "behavior modification." With the expansion of students' activities over the years and the attachment of some cachet to many of them, students have been required to carry a weekly progress report sheet with them (see appendices 3 and 4). This report must be annotated by a member of the student's teaching team in each period with respect to the student's behavior, effort, and achievement. A failure to achieve a score of 90 (50 percent) each week places the student on probation and excludes him from participation in activities. Students who are excluded two weeks in a row are eliminated from the activity. This technique can obviously have divergent results. It can either discourage rebellious students from attempting any activities, or it can create fluctuating behavioral patterns between early and late periods or between Mondays and Fridays. Again, there was no objective way to measure the effects of this particular technique. However, it should be noted that a site visit to the school showed a nearly model set of classrooms, essentially devoid of noise or disruption, in which academic work appeared to be proceeding in good order. Indeed, the atmostphere in the school halls was more like a corporate board room than a traditional school.

Most recently, the discipline problem has been addressed by a program begun in December 1977, called "Alternative to Regular Suspension Procedures" (ARSP). The program is addressed to the problem created by the earlier procedure of suspending students with severe and repetitive disciplinary problems following a superintendent's administrative hearing. The net result of this was that the expelled students often got into additional trouble with public authorities because they were unoccupied and on the street. The ARSP program was designed to put an intermediate step between regular classroom attendance at school and temporary suspension with expulsion.

Students are placed in the ARSP program after a formal notification to their parents explaining the reasons and the rules under which they will be kept in the school. Formal counseling is also part of the program. Students meet with one of the school's counselors at least once during each suspension period. Grading and review of work assignments is still conducted by the students' classroom teachers so that, when they return to their classrooms, they have advanced as far as possible in their course of individual instruction.

This program was first instituted in a location separate from the school to see if it worked, in terms of its educational goals. The principal wanted to avoid disruptive effects which might have resulted from concentrating the suspended students in one place. There were also some potential problems associated with suspended and regular students coming to school together which were later resolved.

Under the new approach, suspended students are placed in a separate classroom where they are required to pursue their regular assignments under the supervision of tutors or teaching assistants. They report to school at 9:00 a.m., after the regular classes convene, and pick up their assignments from the floor administrator. They do not leave the ARSP room for any activities, including lunch, and are dismissed at 1:50 p.m. Bag lunches are provided by the school. Disruptive students in the ARSP program are referred directly to the principal who can terminate their participation in the program and either place them on regular suspension or request a formal or informal hearing with the superintendent.

Conclusion

The House Plan presently used at Roosevelt Junior High School represents an established, incorporated innovation of ten years' standing. It has gone through a process of design, adoption, implementation, and incorporation, with feedback occurring during the process which served to modify several elements of the original proposal. There are, however, two outstanding elements of the process which still remain obscure, partly because of the nature of the innovating organization and partly because of the goals of the actors. These elements are: (1) the question of dissemination of the innovation (or lack thereof); and (2) the transferability of the innovation to other uses involving different goals. However, it should be noted that it is difficult to address these questions solely as problems of organizational innovation. In this case, organizational change is inexorably entangled with educational philosophy. The following observations are addressed to organizational and managerial problems suggested by the case study. Patently, given the objective of this research, it was impossible to analyze or evaluate the attainment of educational objectives sought to be gained by the use of the innovation.

A persistent question put to the actors interviewed in this case was why this innovation has not been adopted by any other school in the city school system, particularly since it is said to work so well. Various theories were advanced by the respondents. We present them here to illustrate the various views underpinning the incorporation of the innovation.

The first, and most widespread, argued that the House Plan quickly became obsolete with the advent of the 1970s and the waning of social and civil unrest. Thus, it was viewed as a temporary and ideosyncratic solution to minority unrest in the central city and, in this case, one that was particularly unique to Syracuse. Other schools had adopted less complex versions of the plan in one or more departments. These were later abandoned or diminished naturally. A second and more restricted theory suggested that other schools did not adopt the House Plan because of Balkanization, or isolation of one school from another coupled with a resistance to using each other's ideas. Although the respondent did not suggest it, this theory implies that the explanation lay, in part, with an inability (or refusal) on the part of the central administration to utilize innovative concepts developed in one place throughout the entire district. In part, this may have been indirectly explained by neighborhood values and concerns and may reflect a political judgment by the superintendent and the board of education derived from other experiences.

A third theory, with clearly political overtones, suggests quite simply that the innovation did not spread because no one came to observe it or consider its further utility. This viewpoint argues that, since the House Plan successfully controls unrest or violence in a school dominated by minorities, it serves its unique purpose there and has no application to other schools. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the program's primary objective is disciplinary rather than educational, a premise that also suggests the predominance of middle-class, White cultural values standing in opposition to change in the established educational school system. It tends to pervert the view of the administration and faculty at Roosevelt that discipline and good social behavior are a prerequisite to a beneficial educational experience. Ironically, recent managerial changes in the program, with their emphasis on discipline, serve to reinforce this theory to outsiders. The premise that discipline is essential to a beneficial educational environment can be obscured from observers by the manifestations of institutional control in the school, which employs a closed-system model of organizational management. Thus, despite the fact that educational goals are primary in the minds of both faculty and the administrators, the House Plan can be mistaken for nothing more than a disciplinary, behavioral modification or control technique designed to prevent disruptions.

These apparent effects may relate to the question of goals and the transferability of the innovation. One of the intended goals of the innovation was to provide a graduated transition for grade school children into the middle school and high school environments. This was a reasonable goal related to education. Once implemented, it required the proliferation of managerial techniques such as the contained classroom which permitted the control of children who could not adjust to a new flexibility. Indeed, the rotation of faculty with students also partly buffered the students against change, even to the extent of some students not having to face new teachers each year. Subsequent imposition of more organizational controls (integrated, hierarchical staff responsibilities; detailed objectives; parent contacts; and weekly progress reports) created a protected environment for the student in which disruptions of educational activities were minimized. However, the fact that similar changes were not effected in other middle schools and, particularly, in high schools means that Roosevelt graduates are injected back into a less-regulated environment with a resultant jar that may be the equivalent of the transitional trauma that the original innovation was designed to protect against. One administrator commented on the fact that many "good kids" who had adjusted well at Roosevelt lost all or most of their educational gains and often had serious personal problems after a little time in the relatively unbuffered environment of high school.

In this context, the House Plan represents a subtle conflict in educational philosophy and goals that cannot be resolved by the administrators in Roosevelt. If the program is effective in achieving short-term educational goals through the use of closed organizational environment techniques, the question of long-term goals for the students in the rest of the school system still remains. This question can probably only be resolved by the central administration or the school board. However, if those actors view the program primarily as a unique technique useful only in one school, the House Plan will not be treated as transferable to other schools. Accordingly, the House Plan may continue to stand as a unique, incorporated innovation lacking any integration into the overall educational structure of the city school district. Furthermore, it will continue to succeed in achieving its educational and disciplinary goals (given the right personnel), but it will also continue to fail subtly in preparing its students for the stringent realities that are present in the high schools.

NOTES

1. The reader should note that the junior high schools in Syracuse were organized on departmental lines in 1966 and 1967 and that students moved from one subject area (e.g., mathematics) and, thus, one department to another (e.g., English in the English Department) with a relative isolation in the school's organizational structure.

2. This concept has reemerged in Syracuse recently (1975-1977) in the actual development of magnet schools.

3. This approach is presently used in at least one school district in the county (East Syracuse) but was not adopted in the city.

4. Staff memorandum, "A School-Wide House Plan at Roosevelt Junior High School: Progress Report," undated, p. 2.

5. Ibid., supra, appendix.

6. Ibid., p. 4.

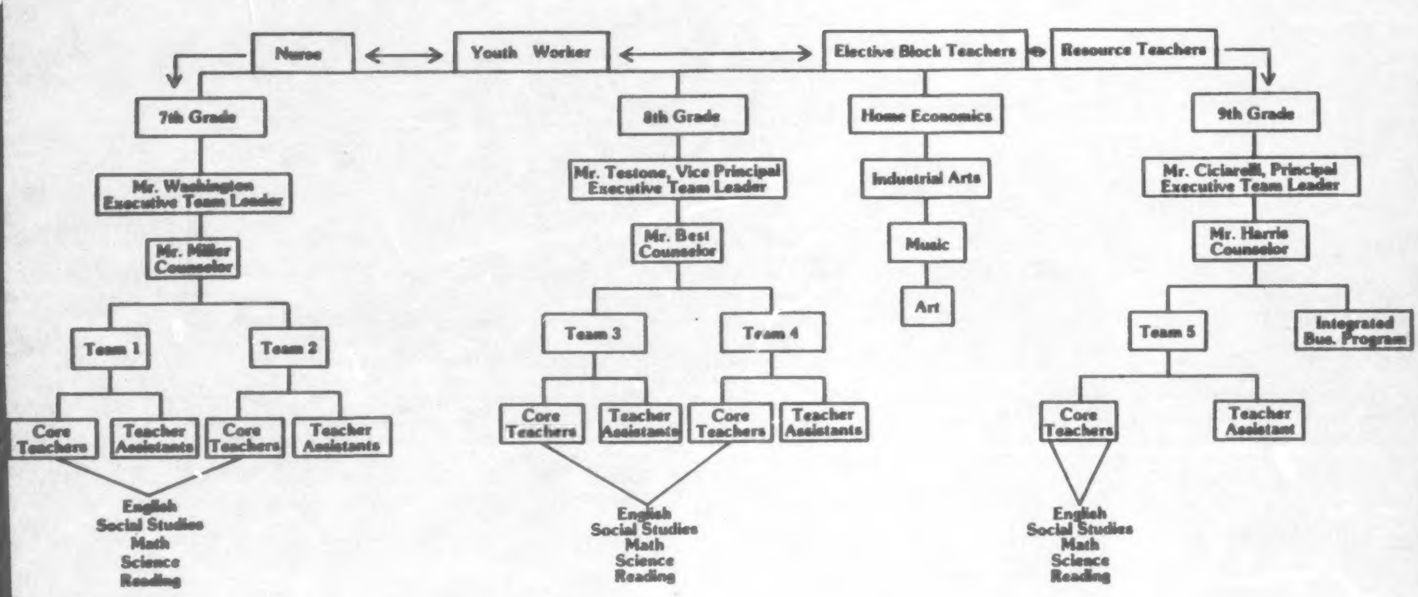
7. Ibid., p. 4.

8. Victor F. Ciciarelli, Internal Memorandum to Staff, "The House Plan," September 1975.

9. It was suggested that a range of 5 to 15 contacts per teacher each week was typical. At this rate, one parent of each child would be contacted at least once a month.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: HOUSE PLAN CURRICULUM, ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, 1978


Nurse
Youth Worker
Elective Block Teachers
Resource Teachers
7th Grade
Mr. Washington Executive Team Leader
Mr. Miller Counselor
Team 1
Team 2
Core Teachers
Teacher Assistants
Core Teachers
Teacher Assistants
English
Social Studies
Math
Science
Reading
8th Grade
Mr. Testone, Vice Principal Executive Team Leader
Mr. Best Counselor
Team 3
Team 4
Core Teachers
Teacher Assistants
Core Teachers
Teacher Assistants
English
Social Studies
Math
Science
Reading
Home Economics
Industrial Arts
Music
Art
9th Grade
Mr. Ciciarelli, Principal Executive Team Leader
Mr. Harris Counselor
Team 5
Integrated Bus. Program
Core Teachers
Teacher Assistant
English
Social Studies
Math
Science
Reading

APPENDIX B: HOUSE PLAN SCHEDULE, ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, 1978

CORE SUBJECTS	ELECTIVE SUBJECTS							
English 7 Math 7 Soc.St. 7 Reading 7 Art/Sci 7	Phys.Ed. Home Ec. I.A. 7 Music	TEAM 7 (1) (approx. 90-100 students)	Home Room 8:00 8:30	ELECTIVE BLOCK 8:33 9:17	CORE BLOCK 9:20-12:40 French 7	LUNCH 12:45 1:15	CORE BLOCK 1:15 2:00	
English 7 Math 7 Soc.St. 7 Reading 7 Art/Sci	Phys.Ed. Home Ec. I.A. 7 Music	TEAM 7 (2) (approx. 90-100 students)	Home Room 8:00 8:30	CORE BLOCK 8:33 9:17 French 7	ELECTIVE 9:20 10:05	CORE BLOCK 10:08-12:40	LUNCH 12:45 1:15	CORE BLOCK 1:15 2:00
English 8 Math 8 Soc.St. 8 Reading 8 Science/ Health	Phys. Ed. Home Ec. I.A. 8 Music	TEAM 8 (1) (approx. 120 students)	Home Room 8:00 8:30	CORE BLOCK 8:33-10:05	ELECTIVE BLOCK 10:08 10:53	CORE BLOCK 10:56-11:42	LUNCH 11:45 12:15	CORE BLOCK 12:15-2:00 French 8
English 8 Math 8 Soc.St. 8 Reading 8 Science/ Health	Phys. Ed. Home Ec. I.A. 8 Music	TEAM 8 (2) (approx. 120 students)	Home Room 8:00 8:30	CORE BLOCK 8:33-10:53	ELECTIVE BLOCK 10:56 11:42	LUNCH 11:45 12:15	CORE BLOCK 12:15-2:00 French 8	

	5th Period			1	2	3	4		6
Reading or Language	Prep.Math English 9 Soc.St. 9 Science 9 --------- I.A. 9	9TH GRADE TEAM (approx. 160-170 students)	Home Room 8:00 8:30	Math 9 English 9(2) Soc.St. 9 Science 9(2) ------------- Studio in Art 8:33-9:17	Math 9 English 9(2) Soc.St. 9(2) Science 9(2) ------------- 9:20-10:05	Prep Math English 9(2) Soc.St. 9 Science 9(2) ------------- French I 10:08-10:53	Prep Math English 9(2) Soc.St. 9 Science 9(2) ----------- French II 10:56-11:42	LUNCH 12:15 12:45	Explor Child Phys Ed. PE,Music Typing Home Ec. 9 I.A. 9 1:15-2:00

APPENDIX C

WEEKLY PROGRESS REPORT

STUDENT'S NAME ______________________________ ACTIVITY ' SUPERVISOR

HOMEROOM __________ GRADE ________ __________________

Pd.	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	TOTAL	COMMENTS
1.	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB		
	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2		
	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2		
	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2		
Teacher Initials							
2.	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB		
	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2		
	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2		
	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2		
Teacher Initials							
3.	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB		
	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2		
	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2		
	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2		
Teacher Initials							
4	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB		
	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2		
	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2		
	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2		
Teacher Initials							
5.	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB		
	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2		
	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2		
	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2		
Teacher Initials							
6.	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB	NS AB		
	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2	B 0 1 2		
	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2	E 0 1 2		
	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2	A 0 1 2		
Teacher Initials							

The above student is to be graded each day by his/her subject teacher using the grading system listed below:

CODE:			
AB = Absent (student)	B = Behavior	Grading system	Excellent =2
NS = No sheet presented	E = Effort		Satisfactory=1
	A = Achievement		Poor = 0

1. Circle a number in the appropriate private space (Every block must be filled).
2. Teacher's initials are to be legible.
3. Sign appropriate block on each day.
4. If student loses form, "0" for week. NS when totaled equals "0" points.

Appendix D: MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL STAFF

FROM: Mr. Victor F. Ciciarelli - Principal

RE: STUDENT PARTICIPATION GUIDELINES

The developed guidelines for student participation are as follows:

a. All participating students must submit their signed forms to their sixth period teacher every Thursday, who in turn will send these forms to the Main Office by 2:00 P.M.

b. After these forms have been evaluated by the coaches/adviros, a decision as to who shall participate in the activity for the following week shall be made. House Chairpersons will be notified on Fridays.

c. The method for the participation or non-participation will be determined by the activity coordinator or coach in the following manner:

1. Total scores accumulated by the student will be the main factor in the coach;s decision. The maximum points a student may obtain in one week of school (Friday -- Thursday) is 180 points. The minimum is 0.

2. Non Participation - If the student's week total is between 0 and 44, the student does not participate for the next week.

3. Probation - If the student's week total is between 45 and 89, but the student is placed on Probation for one week but is allowed to participate.

4. Acceptable - If the student's wekk total is 90 or above, the student is allowed to participate.

5. Absence from school - This will be at the discretion of the coach/activity coordinator. However, if the point total for the days that the student was present indicate a definite unacceptable score, the student will not be allowed to participate.

6. Elimination - Any student who has not been allowed to participate for two different weeks due to unacceptable scores (0-44) will be eliminated from the activity.

7. Probation - a student on probation must obtain a score of 90 or higher the week following his probation, otherwise, he will not be allowed to participate the following week.

8. Exceptions - Under circumstances considered "unique" by the coach/activity coordinator, e.g. a death in the student's family, a request for a waiver of the above rules may be made. The waiver must first have the approval of the administrator - then, the unanimous support of the student's House.

COMMITTEE - A COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED TO FACILITATE THE OPERATIONS OF OUR NEW GUIDELINES. PLEASE DIRECT YOUR QUESTIONS TO THEM.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE:

Mr. Fisher
Mr. Bullock
Mrs. Spease
Mrs. Voutsinas
Mr. Freeman
Mr. Schmid

D

MAGNET SCHOOLS IN THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

by

Andrew M. McGreevy

(Footnotes on p. D-16)

MAGNET SCHOOLS IN THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

Introduction

In Syracuse, the magnet school has been defined as a program "which attracts and keeps students based on the sharing of common interests."[1] Prior to 1977, there were no magnet schools functioning in Syracuse; now, there are two elementary-level magnet schools, and plans have been approved, locally, for two additional programs at the junior-high level.

The federal government has been involved. Since 1977, the Syracuse City School District has received about $450,000 in federal funds for magnet schools, with another $373,000 in federal aid pending. At this rate, the city will soon surpass the $1 million mark in aid to magnet schools.

The objective of this report is to describe and analyze the complicated process of innovation which led to the creation of magnet schools within the Syracuse City School District.

From the Triangle Plan to the Quadrant Plan

The Syracuse City School District has twenty-two elementary schools, including two magnet schools: Danforth, which started its program in 1977; and McKinley-Brighton, which began in 1978. The two magnet programs emerged from a tumultuous background of integration ordered by the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York in 1976, the transition between the administrations of two Syracuse school superintendents, and policy changes by the Syracuse Board of Education. The situation in Syracuse was compounded by many factors such as the fear of forced busing, opposition to the closing of neighborhood schools, declining school enrollment, large budget "gaps," a boycott against integrated education, and the public discussion of a seemingly endless variety of plans to end racial imbalance in the elementary schools.

In early 1976, Edwin E. Weeks, Jr. was serving as the superintendent of schools in Syracuse. Due to a variety of circumstances, seventeen of the city's thirty elementary schools were racially imbalanced. However, on March 5, 1976, Ewald Nyquist, the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, ordered the Board of Education of the Syracuse City School District to develop a plan to integrate the elementary schools--the plan to be submitted to the commissioner's office by May 1, 1976. Each elementary school in Syracuse was to have between 15 percent and 45 percent minority enrollment. From the time of the commissioner's order, events began to move swiftly, if not smoothly.

The titles of articles in a Syracuse newspaper conveyed the concerns of the times: "Busing Held Certainty for City," "North Side Target of Integration," and "Busing Success Limited."[2] Nyquist's order had prodded Syracuse toward action, but the commissioner had aroused fears as well as hopes. On March 12, 1976, a busing prohibition bill was introduced in the New York State legislature; and, though it was never passed, it symbolized public sentiment in New York State in the spring of 1976.

During April and May, numerous plans for integration gained much attention in Syracuse. Magnet schools were occasionally mentioned in the press,[3] but more attention was given to the mandatory nature of what seemed to be ahead for the city. As a Syracuse Herald-Journal article explained, there had been a Voluntary Transfer Plan (VTP) for the schools since 1967, but this program did not have much impact, and the city still had seventeen imbalanced schools.[4] The article pointed out that desegregation would indeed be mandatory in view of the limited success of past volunteer efforts. As events unwound through 1976 and 1977, "mandatory" as opposed to "voluntary" plans became a crucial issue for Syracuse; there are different ways to comply with an order from the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York.

The Syracuse Board of Education was moving toward a pilot program in mandatory education, and forced busing was feared by many school parents in the city. Originally, the commissioner had ordered that a plan be submitted to his office by May 1, but this deadline was extended; and, on May 27, the board submitted the Mandatory Integration Triangle Plan for elementary schools.[5] According to this plan, the city would be divided into five triangles, each having two K-3 (kindergarten through third grade) schools and one building housing a K program plus the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

In September 1976, three elementary schools (McKinley-Brighton, Van Duyn, and Powlesland) were to be linked together with busing in an experimental triangle. In the 1977-1978 school year, the entire city elementary system was to be integrated via the Mandatory Integration Triangle Plan which was clearly identified with busing.

Syracuse's two biggest daily newspapers focused their attention on busing. On May 28, 1976, the front-page headline in The Post-Standard read: "Board Adopts Mandatory Busing." On the same day, the Syracuse Herald-Journal featured an article that reflected some of the fears in the city: "Busing Okayed Amid Threats." Superintendent Weeks and the Syracuse Board of Education had responded to Commissioner Nyquist's order of March 5 by producing a plan which was identified with forced busing, and elements of the public were angry. However, the approach to integration created by city and state bureaucracies at the end of May 1976 would be significantly changed by the end of May 1977.

In the summer of 1976, Syracuse was preparing for the implementation of the pilot phase of the Mandatory Integration Triangle Plan. In the press, busing continued to be covered as a controversial issue, and

SCRAMB (Syracuse Citizens Against Mandatory Busing) was receiving attention. Anticipating some difficulties, the city school district established a Rumor Control Center to answer questions on integration. Superintendent Weeks and the Syracuse Board of Education were moving ahead with the Triangle Plan. (Commissioner Nyquist had approved 95 percent of the plan.)[6]

In August 1976, Sidney L. Johnson replaced the retired Edwin Weeks as superintendent of schools. Johnson, the first Black superintendent in the district's history, had previously been a major in the United States Air Force, a teacher and assistant superintendent in the Syracuse schools, and superintendent of schools in the City of Troy, New York.[7] Returning to Syracuse in the summer of 1976, Johnson had to deal immediately with the state-ordered integration process and other problems in the district. It is clear that Johnson wanted to identify his administration with voluntary policies and alternatives to forced busing, instead of the approach represented by the Mandatory Integration Triangle Plan.[8] But, school was starting in September, and Johnson had to begin the 1976-1977 academic year by implementing the plan developed under Weeks.

The pilot phase of the Triangle Plan was put into action as the school year started. McKinley-Brighton, Van Duyn, and Powlesland were linked together, with busing as a key element in the system. The Syracuse Herald-Journal carried a photograph of Edwin Weeks on a school bus at McKinley-Brighton.[9] Mandatory integration had arrived in Syracuse. There was resistance. The Salem Hyde Community Association announced its support of a school boycott called by SCRAMB.[10] The boycott did not result in violence and did not disrupt the schools. By the end of September, the movement faded out of the news.

Sidney Johnson was making it known that he had other things on his mind in addition to the Triangle Plan. During October, he was quoted in the press as seeing a crisis in the district involving administrative organizational patterns and the likelihood of school closings.[11] A key theme in the Johnson administration was identified by a Syracuse Herald-Journal article, entitled "Alternatives Offered to Forced Busing," in which magnet schools were cited as a possibility for the district.[12] At the same time, Robert E. Cecile, a member of the board of education, made it known that he was ready "to scrap" the experiment in mandatory integration being conducted at McKinley-Brighton, Van Duyn, and Powlesland Schools.[13]

The Triangle Plan was not to survive long. The themes of reorganization, school closings, and alternatives to forced busing emerged more clearly throughout the fall of 1976. Eventually, the closing of ten elementary schools made integration much easier. As 1977 drew near, it became obvious that Superintendent Johnson, and at least one member of the board, wanted something other than the Triangle Plan for Syracuse. However, the future shape of the district was still not quite clear as of December 1976. A myriad of plans had been discussed during the year. Magnet schools had surfaced occasionally as a possibility. However, while the path to integration could be changed, the commissioner's order remained constant--the elementary schools would be integrated.

A different way to comply with the integration order emerged early in 1977. The board of education met on January 18 and voted to adopt Johnson's resolutions for an open enrollment policy for all elementary children, the discontinuance of the pilot phase of the Triangle Plan, the closing of four elementary schools, and the development of a comprehensive three-year facilities reorganization plan with the appointment of a committee in each quadrant of the school district.[14] By these resolutions, Johnson was beginning the "scrapping" of the Triangle Plan and the formation of the Quadrant Plan which divided the district into areas labeled NE, NW, SE, and SW. The quadrant approach achieved integration through enrollment options, school closings and consolidations, redistricting of attendance areas, and, eventually, magnet schools. The Quadrant Plan was not resisted on the issue of busing.

To support his resolutions, Johnson cited several factors such as the realization that previous plans would be unsuccessful for desegregation and that costs involved with other plans would be excessive, even beyond the capacity of the district which had forecast a deficit for 1978. Declining enrollments, school closings, and school consolidations were also cited in support of Johnson's resolutions. The superintendent was moving toward a "new look" for elementary education in Syracuse.

Facilities reorganization with quadrant committees was to produce a master plan that could be put into effect by August 30, 1977. The expressed goals of reorganization were:

(1) to develop a plan that maintains an improved quality of education within the financial resources of the school district,

(2) to develop a plan that improves the racial balance of the schools,

(3) to develop a plan that makes more effective use of school space and improves the district's efficiency,

(4) to develop a plan which would avoid the animosity and disaffection which usually results from facilities reorganization,

(5) to develop a plan to facilitate greater community involvement in the development of the policies and practices of the city schools as regard school facilities, and

(6) to develop a plan to increase the effective utilization of school staff.[15]

Quadrant committees were to be formed to assist the superintendent in the process. Each committee was to consist of two parent representatives, a teacher representative, and the school principal of each school in the respective quadrant. Parent involvement was a key aspect of Johnson's approach to the task. Each quadrant committee was charged with coming up with a plan by May 30 to meet or exceed the following guidelines:

(1) reduce racial imbalance in the racially imbalanced schools in the quadrant by a minimum of 25 percent a year for the three years of the plan;

(2) reduce the general operating budget of facilities in the quadrant by a minimum of 5 percent over the three-year plan;

(3) increase building utilization to 90 percent...;

(4) facilitate community input to support for a facilities reorganization plan, thus minimizing the animosity and disaffection which usually result from facilities reorganization;

(5) maintain or improve the quality of educational programming...;

(6) increase the effective utilization of school staff.[16]

The quadrant committees were to provide progress reports to the board at special sessions during the last week in February, March, and April, with the task to be finished by May 30, 1977. It is important to stress that the resolution creating the quadrant committees ended with the provision that, should a committee be unsuccessful in developing the desired plan, the board and the superintendent would do the work and be ready to put a districtwide plan into effect by the end of August.[17]

From January 18 through May 1977, many people interested in education in Syracuse were immersed in the task outlined by Johnson and the board. Seemingly countless discussions, plans, and meetings are recalled by participants in these events. Parents, teachers, and administrators participated in meetings which lasted as long as six hours. One meeting of the SW Quadrant ended at 12:05 a.m.[18] The minutes of another meeting which ended at 11:30 p.m. noted that "too many people are tired and confused."[19] Confusion was quite possible; for example, on May 24, the SW Quadrant voted on 13 different plans. Perhaps with a sense of humor, a parent developed Alternate Plan #346-1/2.

However, by the end of May, the quadrant committees' recommendations were presented to the board which, in turn, submitted its districtwide Quadrant Plan to the Office of the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York.[20] In June, the commissioner ruled that either the Triangle Plan or the Quadrant Plan was acceptable as long as the elementary schools were integrated. Superintendent Johnson wanted to proceed with the Quadrant Plan by implementing a series of resolutions to be voted on at the June 21 meeting of the Board of Education. The resolutions called for the closing of many elementary schools, but, at the meeting, no magnet schools were to be proposed for the city school district.[21]

The period between March 5, 1976 and June 20, 1977 had been very complicated in Syracuse. Beginning with the commissioner's order to integrate, Superintendent Weeks and the board of education had produced the Triangle Plan which raised the issue of forced busing. While the experimental phase of the Triangle Plan was being put into action, the boycott forces acted, and Superintendent Johnson replaced Edwin Weeks as the district's top administrator.

Johnson and the board of education then proceeded to create the Quadrant Plan, and the State of New York approved both plans. The concept of magnet schools had surfaced occasionally; however, when Johnson prepared to implement the Quadrant Plan by a series of resolutions at the June 21, 1977 meeting of the board of education, no magnet schools existed in Syracuse, and none were proposed to the board by the superintendent.

The June 21, 1977 Meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education

At the June 21 meeting, Superintendent Johnson introduced numerous resolutions under the title: "Modification of School Neighborhoods to Comply with the Order of the State Commissioner of Education Relative to the Integration of the Elementary Schools in the Syracuse City School District."[22] These measures called for school closings, the reassigning of pupils to different schools, the redesignation of schools (e.g., from junior high to elementary), and the redistricting of attendance areas. Many people attended this meeting because of great interest in the closing of neighborhood schools. Local sentiments notwithstanding, many schools were going to close as the Quadrant Plan began to reshape education in Syracuse.

As various schools were closed or redistricted, etc., members of the audience made their views known. The board of education heard comments on concerns such as:

- the closing of too many schools in minority neighborhoods
- the failure of the board to share its ideas
- busing
- open enrollment
- the reassigning of Black pupils while Whites stayed put
- confusion on the Quadrant Plan
- injustice to areas within the district
- contrived board policies involving threats and punishment

Perhaps much of the neighborhood sentiment at this meeting was expressed by Joseph Scaravillo: "The School is the heart and you take the heart away and there is no flow."

Nevertheless, many schools were voted closed, and near the end of Johnson's proposals appeared the following measure:

> Resolved: That the Danforth Elementary School be and is hereby retired at the end of the 1976-77 school year.

Danforth, a predominantly Black school in the Southwest Quadrant, was to close and its pupils were to be reassigned to nearby Dr. Martin Luther King Elementary School, which also had a large majority of Black students.

The move to close Danforth aroused many people: the board minutes show that there were ten speakers from the audience on this measure. The speakers seemed to have a strong point: "Another predominant question was how the Board could integrate schools when Danforth would be moving to King, and both were predominantly Black." Eugene Hannah, the principal of Danforth, expressed the idea clearly:

> It is somewhat late in the game to place another problem on the Black community. Will you please think about the Danforth students going to King and Franklin? We don't know how many teachers, administrators, aides, etc., will be added, but it is going to be very, very difficult. Right now, we have approximately 640 students at Danforth, and, as of yesterday, 602 problems -- not just behavioral problems--had been referred to the office. We are only talking about 600 students, and now you are talking about 1000, with only two or three administrators. I cannot help but think of your sending all those kids, with all those special problems, to one brick building.

As the meeting progressed, the minutes reveal mounting doubt and dissatisfaction in the audience and among the members of the board with reference to the closing of Danforth School. The Syracuse Board of Education then voted, 0 to 7, to defeat the resolution to close Danforth. It is interesting that Danforth was the last school to be voted on at the June 21 meeting and that, while other schools were to be closed, the board refused to approve Johnson's resolution on Danforth.

The vote to keep Danforth open led directly to the creation of the first magnet school in Syracuse. Consider the circumstances: Danforth was racially imbalanced; it would not be closed; yet, integration was ordered by the commissioner; and school would be resuming again in September. What was going to happen to Danforth School? The board had not provided a solution to the dilemma. Magnet schools are not part of the record of the June 21 board meeting. Swift action, initiated by Superintendent Johnson, resulted in the transformation of Danforth into the first magnet school in Syracuse by September 1977.

Awareness of Magnet Schools Before June 1977

Before continuing the narrative of events in the summer of 1977, it is appropriate to discuss prior awareness of magnet schools in Syracuse. As discussed above, the city was headed for integration; magnet programs had been mentioned occasionally; but, at the crucial June 21 meeting of the board, there was no resolution to create a magnet school. Yet, by September 1977, Danforth was a magnet; and, a year later, another program would be functioning at McKinley-Brighton School. To be sure, Johnson and his key administrators, plus other elements of the community, had knowledge of magnet schools before the fast-moving events of summer 1977.

Sidney Johnson recalls that, for many years past, he had been aware of "interest-centered" programs which he regards as being synonymous with the magnet school concept.[23] Johnson cites "career education" and the "life-centered curriculum" as examples of concepts similar to the magnet school idea. Furthermore, Johnson became interested in the magnet program at St. Paul, Minnesota, and sent two of his key administrators to inspect the program in action. Johnson had also received a report from another top aide on the First Annual International Conference on Magnet Schools, March 1977, which included the recommendation that magnet schools be opened in Syracuse.[24] Newspaper articles from 1976 and 1977 occasionally mention that the superintendent was interested in magnet schools as a means to offer an alternative and an option to Syracuse school parents who started the 1976-1977 school year concerned with forced busing. Thus, Johnson was well acquainted with magnet schools prior to the summer of 1977.

Lionel Meno is now the superintendent of schools in Syracuse. Meno formerly served as assistant to the superintendent when Johnson held the top position. Meno recalls that he and another administrator, Dennis Sweeney, had made the trip to St. Paul in the spring of 1977 to inspect the Webster Magnet School.[25] Meno states that he was not convinced of the usefulness of the magnet school as he saw it used nationally, prior to 1977, but his view was that, if a magnet were to be tried in Syracuse, the St. Paul experience might be used as a model. It is important to note that Meno reinforces the concept that Johnson valued the magnet as providing an option, even an incentive, to parents opposed to mandatory policies associated with the Triangle Plan.

Harry S. Balmer is now the executive deputy superintendent for planning and evaluation in the Syracuse school district and the author of the report on the First Annual International Conference on Magnet Schools. Balmer also links magnet schools to a long concern with "interest-centered" education. As Balmer recalls the process, his Special Programs Office had been very much aware of interest-centered programs, but, over the years, could not sell the idea to the board.[26] Balmer was on record, with his report from Texas, as having recommended the establishment of magnet schools prior to June 1977.

Balmer's responsibilities include supervision of the Special Programs Office which deals with areas such as the implementation of programs, monitoring, and the final evaluation process. The Special Programs Office produced the proposals that led to the establishment of the magnet schools.

Thus, among top administrators in the Syracuse school system, there is a strong feeling that magnet schools are similar to interest-centered education, which was of concern to the district for many years prior to 1977. Interest-centered programs had been tried in Syracuse. From 1967 to 1971, the district experimented with an approach very similar to a magnet program at Croton School. However, no magnet schools, as they are now known, existed prior to the summer of 1977. Superintendent Johnson raised the possibility of magnet schools from the beginning of his administration; but, when the concept was presented to the board in November 1976, The Post-Standard reporter, Dale Rice, wrote, "Several commissioners have stated privately that they are disgusted with the 'shoddy product' and two board members called it 'a crock of bull.'"[27]

Eugene Hannah was the principal of Danforth when the school became a magnet. Prior to June 1977, Hannah was not interested in the concept of magnet schools, and he has stated quite candidly that he really did not expect the magnet program to succeed at Danforth.[28] In 1979, Hannah is still the principal of the city's first magnet school. McKinley-Brighton did not become a magnet until 1978; but, prior to that time, its principal, Thomas Taylor, also had little interest in magnet schools.[29] While originally not interested in magnets, both Hannah and Taylor had very strong feelings for the survival of their respective schools.

It is difficult to pinpoint when the community-at-large first became aware of magnet schools, but there is no doubt that the concept was discussed in the press prior to the summer of 1977. In fact, a few references to magnet schools can be found in Syracuse newspapers in the spring of 1976.[30] References to magnet schools, even a magnet at Danforth, appear in the minutes and working papers of the SW Quadrant committee during its deliberations in the spring of 1977.[31] It is interesting that Superintendent Meno recalled that an early suggestion for a magnet school may have come from the anti-busing group in the Southwest Quadrant.[32] With reference to the Danforth School community of parents and teachers, etc., Johnson notes that six days prior to the crucial board meeting of June 21 (the defeat of the resolution to close Danforth) there had been an informational "study session" held by the board at which a magnet program for the school had been discussed.[33] Thus, the public, and specifically the Danforth community, had been made aware of magnet schools prior to the summer of 1977, through the press, the activities of the superintendent, and the quadrant committee.

Awareness of a program is a step removed from the decision to implement a program. It must be emphasized that, during the year or so prior to June 1977, the major concern in Syracuse was compliance with the mandatory integration order. Magnet schools were only a small part of the total school picture at this time. At the June 21 board meeting, Superintendent Johnson moved to close Danforth School and to proceed without establishing any magnets within the city. The board's decision to keep Danforth open triggered the process by which Syracuse moved from awareness to implementation with reference to magnet schools.

Danforth Magnet School, 1977-1979

After June 21, the initial step in the creation of a magnet program at Danforth was a decision by Johnson to try a magnet school as the means to keep the building open. This crucial decision was made quickly by the superintendent. From this point onward, the speed of action by the school district became a major element in Danforth's transformation process. The school district had only two full months--July and August--to prepare for the opening of school in September; the proposal for federal funding of the first magnet school was not even submitted until August.

Sidney Johnson recalls that, prior to June 21, he had concluded that a magnet school was something that could be "delivered"; therefore, when the board voted to keep Danforth open, Johnson decided that the magnet approach was worth trying in Syracuse.[34] Then, Eugene Hannah, the principal of Danforth, was told that Balmer's office would put together the plan for a magnet school. Hannah recalls that Johnson called him "the next day" with the news about the decision to try a magnet school.[35] Hannah was skeptical, but he went along with the decision to create the magnet school which he still heads. Hannah was not the only one to have some doubts about the program. Lionel Meno also recalls not being sure that the magnet would succeed.[36]

However, doubts notwithstanding, Johnson had made the key decision. Balmer's Special Programs Office proceeded on two related fronts: designing the plan for Danforth and preparing the proposal for federal funding of the project. Many people worked on these plans. Balmer credits Robert Cullivan, Pat Leo, and Robert DiFlorio as being key figures in the writing of the magnet proposals. In addition, Pat Leo points to the supporting efforts of administrators Dennis Sweeney, Paul Casavant, Jack Weaver, and Lionel Meno.[37]

As Pat Leo recalls the process, in the summer of 1977, the Special Programs Office worked with input from Eugene Hannah, the Danforth staff, and concerned Danforth parents to put together a proposal for federal funding in the autumn. Principal features of the Danforth program such as the all-day kindergarten and the extended school day were selected by the school community from options presented by the district, while the knowledge of federal procedures was provided by the Special Programs Office.

As July and August raced by and school opened in September, a lot was accomplished in a hurry. The program was designed, the proposal was submitted, and many new staff members were hired at Danforth. Recruitment of White students was helped by television announcements, a telephone hotline, and a school open house. Community volunteers, including Mrs. Sidney Johnson, the wife of the superintendent, helped at the school; and Eugene Hannah recalls that Superintendent Johnson and his assistant, Lionel Meno, came to the building to help with the opening of school. As children poured into the building in September, rooms were still being remodeled. It is little wonder that participants in these events remark upon the speed of the process.

The proposal for federal funding, entitled "The Danforth School Magnet Program of the Syracuse City School District," was submitted in August 1977 to the U. S. Office of Education with reference to the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), Magnet Schools. The proposal was accepted and funded initially for about $195,000 in 1978. The project was refunded, and a request for a third year of funding is now under consideration by the U. S. Office of Education.

The proposal of August 1977 outlined the distinguishing features of the Danforth School Magnet Program:

(1) Early Morning Activities Program (7:00 a.m. - 8:45 a.m.)
(2) The Basic Skills Program
(3) The Applied Skills Program
(4) The Extended Day Activity Program (2:45 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.)

The long school day, from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., and the all-day kindergarten classes proved to be attractive features of the program. Significant numbers of White parents responded to the program, enrolled their children, and thus changed the enrollment figures so that the school is now within the 15-45 percent Black enrollment mandated by the commissioner. Since 1977, the length of the school day has been shortened somewhat, but the program is still well known for its extra hours.

As the proposal of August clearly outlines, by July 1977, the Syracuse school district planned to integrate its elementary system by:

- closing 10 elementary schools
- opening a new elementary school
- converting one junior high school to an elementary school
- creating one tandem elementary school
- converting 6 former K-6 elementary schools to K-5 schools
- the voluntary transferring of students into 14 different schools, and
- instituting a magnet program at Danforth.

Before June 21, the plan did include the last step.

McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Math-Science Magnet School 1978-1979

The circumstances surrounding the creation of a magnet program at McKinley-Brighton are somewhat different from those of the Danforth School. The existence of a magnet at Danforth was an example to the McKinley-Brighton community and the city school district of what could be delivered along the lines of a school-saving innovation. Although the McKinley-Brighton magnet project was implemented quickly, it was done with more research and more time between proposal writing and the beginning of school. While both schools are magnet projects, they do not have the same curriculum. Thus, the McKinley-Brighton magnet school is viewed by some in Syracuse as being the result of a more orderly process than the Danforth project.

In May 1978, the Special Programs Office submitted a proposal, entitled "The McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Math-Science School of the Syracuse City School District," as a component part of the second-year funding request for the Danforth School.[38] The district requested $152,000 for McKinley-Brighton and $88,000 for Danforth. Part of the rationale for the second magnet school is expressed at the beginning of the proposal: "The overwhelming success of the project [Danforth] furthering the possibility of creating another magnet school [McKinley-Brighton] . . . ."

Statistics also enter the picture. The commissioner had mandated 15-45 percent minority enrollment. The district had projected a 45 percent Black enrollment for McKinley-Brighton in 1977; however, in October, the school was found to have 54 percent Black enrollment, with additional numbers of minority children continuing to enroll. The school was racially imbalanced, and the district was projecting a 55 percent Black imbalance for 1978-1979. With these percentage figures, it was clear to all concerned that something was going to change for McKinley-Brighton.

In March 1978, the Special Programs Office conducted a survey to determine citywide interest in another magnet program. Both "Black" respondents and "Other Than Black" respondents most frequently selected the "Fundamental School," distinguished by its emphasis on a student behavior code. However, the second most frequent choice for Blacks was the "Math/Science School," while the second most frequent choice for the "others" was the "Visual and Performing Arts School."[39] The end result was the creation of the McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Math-Science Magnet School which opened in September 1978. The school is known in Syracuse for its emphasis on discipline and concentration on mathematics and science.

The same group of top administrators--Johnson, Meno, Balmer, et al.--who brought in the Danforth project also guided the process of the transformation of McKinley-Brighton.[40] As Johnson recalls these events, he emphasized that the McKinley-Brighton community was obviously impressed by what had been done recently at nearby Danforth. Lionel Meno was involved in meetings with McKinley-Brighton School parents, and the staff of the Special Programs office under Harry Balmer also participated in meetings with parents at which the details of the new plan were discussed.

Thomas Taylor, the principal of McKinley-Brighton School, and Jack Barry, the coordinator of the Magnet Program, offer some interesting views on the events of 1978.[41] Taylor recalls that, by 1978, the McKinley-Brighton community was upset with the process of change; the school had been in the ill-fated pilot phase of the Triangle Plan before going through the complicated planning for the Quadrant Plan in 1977, only to face the prospect of more tumult due to its racial imbalance. According to Taylor, the community sought consistency and an end to upheaval for its school. The magnet approach seems to have brought a measure of identity to McKinley-Brighton and at least a temporary end to unwelcome change.

Taylor was returned to the school in summer 1978 to administer the magnet program. Prior to 1978, Taylor had been at McKinley-Brighton for several years as a teacher and vice principal. Thus, in 1978, the survey was taken; details of the program were worked out with parents and school staff; the proposal was submitted (and funded); new staff were hired; pupils were recruited; and the program was successfully launched in September.

It is interesting that both Taylor and Eugene Hannah, Danforth's principal, recall being doubtful about magnet programs prior to 1977. In Taylor's case, he had to be convinced about the concept. He came to see the magnet program as an opportunity to do something creative and now is very positive on the concept of magnet schools. Jack Barry, Taylor's assistant, is enthusiastic about magnet schools and was transferred from Danforth to McKinley-Brighton to aid in the implementation of the program.

The Future of Magnet Schools in Syracuse

At present, the summer of 1979, the future of magnet schools in Syracuse appears to be good. Both Danforth and McKinley-Brighton are expected to have a 40 percent minority enrollment in September and be racially balanced according to the mandate of the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York.[42] Thus, the schools appear presently to be safe from drastic action such as the threat of closing, which was a fear during 1976-1978. Also, in Syracuse, there is a growing movement to create magnet schools at the junior-high level to continue the special programs started in the elementary schools.

In July, the board gave its approval to the continuation of the McKinley-Brighton mathematics and science program at Roosevelt Junior High School; in June, another magnet project was approved for the Levy Middle School.[43] The magnet concept is proving to be appealing in Syracuse. However, the future will probably bring some changes, and one factor looming large on the horizon is a projected decline of 50 percent of the total school student population by 1988.[44] If the district shrinks by 50 percent, the magnet schools may be endangered by closing or economy moves. Also, it should be noted that, in a tentative ten-year plan drawn up by the district in 1977, both Danforth and McKinley-Brighton were slated for closing.[45] Of course, much has happened since 1977, but those interested in magnet schools should be aware of past district and board plans.

Eight Keys to Understanding Magnet Schools in Syracuse

The creation of magnet schools in Syracuse was the result of a complicated process, including many decisions and events involving numerous people. In the case of magnet schools, innovation occurred, and the process is still evolving. However, we have identified eight keys to understanding what took place in Syracuse between the spring of 1976 and the summer of 1979. Key 3 (Related Decisions of the Board of Education and Superintendent Johnson) is of special interest as it involves a two-stage decision-making sequence in which the first negative measure gave rise to the second positive measure--the decision to try a magnet program at Danforth.

Key 1. Education Commissioner Nyquist's 1976 order to integrate the elemetary schools acted as a stimulus, *an outside force pushing for changes within Syracuse*.

Key 2. The Triangle Plan and the Quadrant Plan brought upheaval to Syracuse; thus, *the magnet schools were a small part of a large tumultuous process*.

Key 3. *The Board of Education's decision not to close* Danforth led quickly to *Superintendent Johnson's decision to try the first magnet school*.

Key 4. The establishment of the Danforth Magnet School was a *very fast process*; the McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Math-Science School was arranged in a more orderly fashion.

Key 5. *Prior awareness* of magnet schools facilitated establishment of the programs after June 1977.

Key 6. Administrators were able to *successfully respond* to a challenging task.

Top administrators had the *will* to move quickly and the *expertise* to secure federal funding for magnet schools. The building principals and their staffs had the *professionalism* to successfully innovate in school neighborhoods aggravated by processes of change.

Key 7. Syracuse school parents had a *significant impact* on the decision-making process which led to the magnet schools.

Key 8. Magnet schools are still evolving in Syracuse. Danforth was established in 1977; McKinley-Brighton in 1978; and, in 1979, the Board of Education approved magnet programs at Roosevelt Junior High School and Levy Middle School.

NOTES

1. "Syracuse City School District Form," March 1978.
2. Syracuse Herald-Journal, March 8, 9, and 14, 1976.
3. For example, Syracuse Herald-Journal, April 29, 1976; and The Post-Standard, April 30, 1976.
4. Syracuse Herald-Journal, March 14, 1976.
5. "The Danforth School Magnet Program of the Syracuse City School District," August 1977.
6. Syracuse Herald-Journal, August 31, 1976.
7. The Syracuse New Times, May 30, 1979.
8. Interview with Sidney L. Johnson at Syracuse Research Corporation, July 1979.
9. Syracuse Herald-Journal, September 9, 1976.
10. Salem Hyde is an elementary school.
11. The Post-Standard, October 2, 1976.
12. Syracuse Herald-Journal, October 11, 1976.
13. Syracuse Herald-Journal, October 8, 1976.
14. Minutes of the Board of Education meeting, January 18, 1977.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Minutes of the Southwest Quadrant General Committee, May 24, 1977.
19. Minutes of the Southwest Quadrant General Committee, May 25, 1977.
20. "Danforth School Magnet Program," August 1977.
21. Minutes of the Board of Education meeting, June 21, 1977.
22. Ibid.

23. Interview with Sidney Johnson, *op*. *cit*.

24. Harry S. Balmer, Assistant Superintendent, Special Programs and Evaluation, "Report on Conference on Magnet Schools at Dallas, Texas, March 9-12, 1977," dated March 30, 1977. Balmer and Robert Cullivan attended the meeting in Texas; both recommended the establishment of magnet schools.

25. Interview with Lionel Meno at Syracuse City School District offices, July 1979.

26. Interview with Harry S. Balmer at Syracuse City School District offices, July 1979.

27. *The Post-Standard*, November 15, 1976. Rice wrote a special six-part series of articles on magnet schools which was published during summer 1977.

28. Interview with Eugene Hannah at Danforth Magnet School, June 1979.

29. Interview with Thomas Taylor at McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Math and Science Magnet School, July 1979.

30. *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, April 27 and 30, 1976.

31. Minutes of the Southwest Quadrant meeting, May 20 and 24, 1977; and working paper entitled "Racial Balance Committee Plan."

32. Interview with Lionel Meno, *op*. *cit*.

33. Interview with Sidney Johnson, *op*. *cit*.

34. Ibid.

35. Interview with Eugene Hannah, *op*. *cit*.

36. Interview with Lionel Meno, *op*. *cit*.

37. Interview with Pat Leo at Syracuse City School District Offices, June 1979.

38. "Component B. The McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Math-Science School," May 1978.

39. Interview with Paul Casavant at Syracuse City School District offices, June 1979; and "March 1978 Magnet School Survey Results."

40. Interviews *op*. *cit*.

41. Interview with Thomas Taylor.

42. *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, July 17, 1979.

43. The Post-Standard, July 18, 1979.

44. Syracuse Herald-Journal, March 21, 1978.

45. Minutes of the Board of Education meeting, June 21, 1977.

E

METROPOLITAN WORLD OF INQUIRY SCHOOL

(Part of the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program
in Rochester/Monroe County)

by

Elma B. Boyko

(Footnotes on p. E-13)

METROPOLITAN WORLD OF INQUIRY SCHOOL

(Part of the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program in Rochester/Monroe County)

In 1967, a large-scale, innovative program designed to reduce racial imbalance and to improve urban education in the City of Rochester, New York, was funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965.[1] Two of the nine components of Project Unique[2] are pertinent to the history of the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. One was the World of Inquiry School established in the City of Rochester as an early type magnet school to offer quality innovative educational opportunities and foster racial integration by attracting students from the various city and suburban school districts. This school served as the model for the later Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. The Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP), another component of Project Unique, was designed to implement and administer programs to reduce racial isolation in the County of Monroe, including the City of Rochester.

Because of the success of these two components of Project Unique, it was possible to obtain both approval and funding for the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. This report examines the relationships between the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School and its model, the Rochester World of Inquiry School, and between the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School and its source of funding, USITP. Those influences which prompted the establishment of the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School and precipitated its demise are emphasized, as are the roles of the individuals closely associated with this short-lived venture.[3]

Rochester World of Inquiry School

The World of Inquiry School was designed to accomplish two goals within the City of Rochester: it was to provide an environment for innovative approaches to education; the high quality of such education was expected to make it attractive to both Black and White students. The school was to serve as a neutral site, thereby avoiding the resentment which may arise when a neighborhood school becomes a receiving school for children from outside that school's normal geographical boundaries. The World of Inquiry School has no captive constituency as does a neighborhood school. Instead, students have come to the school from throughout the City of Rochester as well as from other school districts in the County of Monroe. Both of these goals have served to foster the larger objective of successfully establishing an educationally superior, racially integrated school.

Selection of children has been based on maintaining a stable ratio in terms of sex, age, race, and geographic location which will ensure an on-going reflection of the metropolitan Rochester area. Thus, by design, the school has maintained a balance of approximately 50 percent Caucasian and 50 percent minority students.

Set up to be a nongraded, model elementary school, the World of Inquiry School's educational philosophy has often been a departure from traditional learning techniques and programs. One of the basic tenets of the school is that chronological age is not the basic determinant of readiness to learn. Another is that opportunity for active involvement is the best stimulus for learning. The World of Inquiry School has served as a demonstration school for such innovative concepts as multi-graded classrooms, open educational environments, reporting systems to parents, and curricular approaches for integrated classrooms. Many of the novel ideas tried out in the World of Inquiry School have later been incorporated into classrooms of public and nonpublic, city and suburban schools. As a demonstration school, it attracts many visitors, especially from the educational environment.

The World of Inquiry School is one of the few components of Project Unique that has continued to exist. Although funding concerns have threatened its existence on occasion in the past, it now is included in the regular Rochester City School District budget. Although it has not expanded dramatically in enrollment, it has garnered sufficient support among educators and parents to survive. While the World of Inquiry School may no longer command the high degree of interest that it did under the aegis of Project Unique, it still stands as a prototype for achieving the twin goals of quality education and racial integration. As such, it served as the model for the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School.

Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program

The Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP) was one of the major components of Project Unique; its primary purpose was to address the racial imbalance issue by involving the suburban school districts in an interchange of students. This program had two predecessors upon which the concept was based. There was already in existence an Open Enrollment Program within the City of Rochester which allowed urban students to voluntarily attend a school outside their own school district. There were also several suburban school districts that accepted urban students for summer school classes and one suburban school district, West Irondequoit, that, since 1965, had been inviting a selected number of urban elementary children to attend classes during its regular school year. In addition, there had been informal urban-suburban learning experiences in terms of shared class time or of limited student exchanges.

USITP was administered by Norman Gross under the auspices of the Rochester City School District until 1973 when, because of the ineligibility of the school district to act a Local Educational Agency (LEA), the program was moved to West Irondequoit. USITP was initially funded under ESEA Title III; since 1973, it has been funded under Title VII of the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA).[4] When the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School was proposed by Gross, it was possible to include it as part of the USITP program funding request.

Metropolitan World of Inquiry School

In the early 1970s, Gross broached the idea of a Metropolitan World of Inquiry School to David Lerch, a project officer in the Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW). Such a school would be a neutral-site, integrated, elementary school patterned after the Rochester World of Inquiry School, offering an alternative to the regular school programs. Its student ratio would be approximately 40 percent minority students, primarily from Rochester, and 60 percent students from participating districts, with a similar balance in the teaching staff. Lerch's familiarity with the original World of Inquiry School made him receptive to the idea, Gross was sufficiently encouraged to formulate plans for such a school.

A proposal for ESAA funds for the urban-suburban program was hastily amended to include support for a Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. Because it was necessary to include some details of the operation of the proposed school, Gross had to locate a building that could be designated as the facility for such a school should it be funded. It was general knowledge that the suburban Webster school district had a new, unused school available. With proposal delivery deadlines just hours away, Gross arranged a meeting with Webster Central School District Superintendent Ross Willink, Board of Education President Peter Stacy, and board member Nancy Brush. Agreement was reached on the leasing of this Schlegel Road School, contingent upon approval of the proposal.

When federal funding of $490,000 for one year was officially approved, two problems surfaced: the Webster Board of Education was undecided about which of two school buildings to rent to the new school; and no participating school district, including West Irondequoit, wanted to be responsible for actually running the school.

Once the funding was assured for the program and formal approval was received from appropriate state and federal entities, the provision of a facility for the school was formally brought before the Webster Central School District Board of Education for approval. Board members were unanimously in favor of providing the facility, but disagreement arose as to which school should actually be made available: Schlegel Road or Ridgecrest. These schools, within approximately three miles of each other, were accessible to virtually the same student body.

One question raised was whether the Schlegel Road School should be leased to the highest bidder[5] or should be reserved for educational use. Although some inquiries had been made by companies, no bona fide offer had been received; the philosophical question of who should lease the building was moot. The issue really revolved around whether

Schlegel Road School should be leased or students from Ridgecrest School should be transferred to Schlegel Road and Ridgecrest leased for the new World of Inquiry School. Some board members felt that, since Schlegel Road School was the newer facility and some population growth was expected near this school, the best course would be to retain Schlegel Road School and lease Ridgecrest. Because of the differing opinions of board members, the board president called a special meeting on July 16, 1973, to allow Webster residents to voice their opinions.

Groups coalesced about opposite viewpoints of which school to lease. Parents living in close proximity to Schlegel Road School favored leasing Ridgecrest, since they viewed Schlegel Road as their neighborhood school. Parents from the Ridgecrest School supported retaining Ridgecrest and leasing Schlegel Road, since they did not want their children tranported to Schlegel Road. Ridgecrest parents formed an ad hoc group that called itself, "Keep Our Present Schools." The extent of their activity seems to have been to mobilize support for keeping Ridgecrest and to urge parents to communicate with school board members. Supporters both of Ridgecrest and of Schlegel Road attended the special meeting. The larger numbers of the Ridgecrest group persuaded the Board of Education to lease the Schlegel Road School.[6] The Metropolitan World of Inquiry School now had a base for operations.

Although Webster would provide a school, the Webster Central School District Board of Education refused to be responsible for the day-to-day operation of such a school. A primary reason for this decision is said to have been based on concerns about the time that would be required by district administrators to organize the school. Another reason was that, if Webster administered the school's program, the staff would become Webster employees. If, at a later time, cutbacks in staff were necessary, then the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School's staff could conceivably be in competition with the staff of Webster's other schools, resulting in difficult and possibly unpopular decisions in terms of seniority, etc. Only two members of the Board of Education were in favor of Webster's administering the program and then only if absolutely necessary. None of the participating districts--Penfield, Brighton, West Irondequoit, or Pittsford--wanted to run a school in someone else's district. To resolve this impasse, it was decided to turn to the Board of Cooperative Extension Services (BOCES)[7] at Fairport to see it if would consent to run the school.

William Early, superintendent of the West Irondequoit Central School District, acting on behalf of the district as local LEA, contacted Kenneth Harris, superintendent of BOCES, to explore the possibility of such an arrangement. Harris and Ross Willink, superintendent of the Webster Central School District, went to state education officials in Albany to discuss this matter. There apparently was some reluctance on the part of the state decision-makers to approve the proposed plan; it was not the policy for BOCES to provide "regular" education. The political implications of BOCES' involvement in this new area were of concern. However, other bureaus within the State Education Department were not creatively developing support of integration, so the commissioner of education agreed to BOCES "coordinating" a "demonstration center." The concern about setting a precedent for other such programs under the aegis of BOCES left the local BOCES administrators in a somewhat ambiguous state. They did receive a letter from the State Education Department stating that BOCES could legally run the alternative school. They also felt that they had approval for the program, since they had been informally told to do whatever was necessary to implement the program. At the same time, there was never that kind of formal acceptance or recognition of the program as administered by BOCES that would serve to legitimize its role fully.

On August 1, 1973, Harris reported back to the cooperative board as to Albany's approval of the program. The board's decision was to hold an informational meeting for representatives of school boards from all of BOCES ten eastern member districts. The BOCES board would delay its vote on operating the school until after this meeting. Concern over public relations with BOCES member districts apparently was the primary reason for this decision. One board member was quoted as saying, "I think it's politically unwise to go to the districts with a fait accompli, and I don't want to be part of it."[8]

At the informational meeting, there was a four-hour discussion on whether BOCES should run the school, whether it should open in September or January, and what would happen if funding lasted only for a year. Seven of the eight BOCES board members said that they wanted requests from at least four suburban school districts before committing themselves. Five of the eight said that they tended to favor a January opening to allow more planning time. Because BOCES, in its normal operations, can choose to provide services on the request of only two participating school districts, the board finally decided to ask for formal requests from at least two school districts before it could legally make a decision about the administration of the program.

It was also necessary to have formal approval for this program from DHEW and from the citizens' advisory committee overseeing local programs receiving federal funds under ESAA. At the BOCES informational meeting, a spokesman for the ESAA advisory committee protested that BOCES had not consulted with it on this program. Harris at once agreed to set up a meeting. There was some apprehension that the citizens' committee might not approve the program; but, on August 14, it did so. Once all of the necessary approvals had been obtained and Webster had voted to lease the Schlegel Road School, BOCES hastily moved to implement the program in time for a September opening.

The federal government's interest in funding the new Metropolitan World of Inquiry School had been based on its favorable assessment of the performance of the original World of Inquiry School in Rochester. This new program was proposed as one patterned after the Rochester school prototype. It had been Gross' expectation that William Pugh, principal of the World of Inquiry School in Rochester, and some of his staff could be brought into the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School for a period of time to lend their experience and expertise to this new World of Inquiry School. Harris objected to this plan on the basis that the new Metropolitan World of Inquiry School would thus be inheriting an educational structure that might not be appropriate to this new environment. He also said that he wanted to ensure an educational goal for the children, not just a social goal; he feared that the process might become more important than the product. The superintendent of West Irondequoit agreed with Harris in his rejection of bringing in staff members from the Rochester World of Inquiry School; and, when it was determined that Pugh and his staff could not get permission from the Rochester City School District for a leave of absence anyway, the dispute on staffing evolved about other persons.

ESAA grants require that a citizens' advisory committee oversee those local programs receiving ESAA funds. In West Irondequoit, this committee had been a supporter of the urban-suburban program and now also favored the BOCES-sponsored Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. Although the committee had no legal right to insist on interviewing candidates for principal of this school, committee members had made it clear at the BOCES informational meeting that they expected to have a chance to do so and to make recommendations. BOCES appointed Charles Searles, a BOCES curriculum coordinator, as acting principal of the school. Searles was among those interviewed by the ESAA committee. Although he had served an internship at the Rochester World of Inquiry School, the committee did not find him acceptable; their disapproval carried sufficient weight that he was not continued in the position. W. McGregor Deller, a former superintendent in the Fairport district, was then proposed by BOCES as a "neutral" choice to resolve the stand-off. With ESAA advisory committee endorsement, he took over as principal of the new Metropolitan World of Inquiry School.

By the time of Deller's appointment, the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School had already opened in September with an enrollment of 275 pupils for the 1973-74 school year. While some components of the education program such as interest centers were modeled after the original World of Inquiry School, the new Metropolitan World of Inquiry School did not seek to innovate to the same extent as the original World of Inquiry School. Parents' attitudes were reflected in more traditional classroom approaches which soon evolved within this school.

After initial funding had been received to establish the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School, DHEW Office of Education revised the guidelines on program funding, eliminating the category of metropolitan area programs under which USITP (including the Metropolitan School of Inquiry) had received ESAA funds. For the 1974-75 school year, it was necessary to apply under the "basic grants" portion of the legislation. These grants were administered through DHEW regional offices which had great latitude in interpretation of the guidelines. USITP's original proposal for slightly over $3,400,000 was rejected on a technicality.

The DHEW regional office then requested a revised proposal for approximately $1,900,000. This scaled-down proposal was returned with the notation that the World of Inquiry School would not be supported and that tuition payments could not be made to suburban districts for other children. This threat of termination of the entire USITP program was perceived to be for political and economic reasons, rather than for educational and programmatic reasons. Political and legal pressures, including a suit by six Rochester residents against DHEW, were mobilized to try to save the urban-suburban program.

In June 1974, a grant of $1,500,000 was finally approved (see table 1). In spite of the cutback in funds, the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School was able to continue because Gross had been able to get approval from DHEW to use about $500,000 in unexpended funds from the previous year. The funds paid to suburban districts that accepted minority children were no longer called tuition payments. They were henceforth referred to as payments for "supportive services." USITP (and the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School) thus were able to continue to function in 1974-75 at about the same level as the previous year.

However, of a $3 million proposal for USITP for the 1975-76 school year, an ESAA grant of only $488,011 was approved. With $300,000 from the state for transportation funds, Gross had only $788,011 to run USITP, as opposed to slightly over $2 million the year before. Since there was now no question of continuing both the longer-term transportation of minority children to the receiving suburban districts and the officially disallowed Metropolitan World of Inquiry Schoool at previous levels, a choice had to be made as to which component would be limited. Gross made the decision to limit enrollment in the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School to 54 children that year, and the school's operation was shifted from the Webster school to smaller quarters in Karlan School, a neighborhood school in the West Irondequoit district. Hundreds of city and suburban applicants could not be considered for enrollment. The 1975-76 school year was the last year of operation for the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School.

Metropolitanism Revived

While the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School may have failed to survive, the concept of a metropolitan educational system has not been abandoned. There has been interest among community leaders in areawide delivery of those services that might be adaptable to such an approach. In 1974, a joint report was prepared by the Greater Rochester Intergovernmental Panel (GRIP), a panel of prominent area persons, and the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA). This report recommended a metropolitan approach to certain services by the development of a two-tier government[9] within the greater Rochester area. However, the study of educational services had been deliberately excluded from in-depth study, probably because of the volatility of the issue.

In 1979, Gross instituted steps to revive interest in a metropolitan educational system. The previous experience with BOCES led him

Table 1 Metropolitan World of Inquiry School as Part of Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding

1973-1977

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
West Irondequoit	101	92	100	138
Brighton	94	89	83	98
Brockport Campus	48	44	45	98
Penfield	64	57	45	47
Parochial	82	146	216	207
Brockport Central	5	6	14	13
Wheatland-Chili	26	26	19	19
Webster	1	--	--	--
Pittsford	122	116	116	123
Metropolitan World of Inquiry	275	275	54	--
Total Number of Pupils	818	851	692	743

Amount Funded	$1,795,340* 406,147** $2,201,487	$1,568,879* 447,944** $2,016,823	$488,011* 300,000** $788,011	$861,177* 300,000** $1,161,177
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA: $1,906,487; Title III - ESEA: $295,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $516,823; Basic: $1,500,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $371,022; Basic: $116,989.	Title VII - ESAA Discretionary

*Program

**Transportation

Source: Office of the Urban-Suburban Program.

to reject that route of collaboration; instead, he chose to build upon the already existing interest of public officials and private leaders in metropolitan government which had been generated by the earlier GRIP-NAPA study. Gross wrote letters to the mayor of Rochester and to the president of the county legislature requesting appointments with each of these individuals and proposing that a committee be established to investigate this method of dealing with educational problems. After sending the letter and before the recipients had a chance to respond, Gross decided to make the contents of the letter public, basing this action on his assessment that such disclosure would not antagonize either the mayor or the president of the county legislature.

Gross thereafter met with the mayor to discuss the issue. There was concern expressed at this meeting that it might not be wise for a political figure such as the mayor to set up a committee. It would be wiser to keep the concern with educational quality and racial isolation out of the political arena. It was also suggested that, instead of a "blue-ribbon" committee of prominent community leaders being appointed, some other organization might more feasibly serve as the vehicle for initiating steps towards a metropolitan approach to educational services.

A possibility was Urbanarium, which is a consortium of local education-related institutions, including five area colleges, the Center for Governmental Research, the Rochester Public Library, the Rochester Museum and Science Center, and WXXI (the Rochester broadcasting center). Those persons who serve on the boards of Urbanarium's member organizations are influential people within the community, with the capability of promoting action should they choose to do so. Urbanarium's commitment is to brokering the resources of local institutions and volunteer organizations to help the community confront and resolve its problems. Through a series of community and individual meetings, Urbanarium had outlined four major areas of concern: racial isolation, financing of education, urban education as an areawide problem, and areawide delivery of services. Its goal had thus been set as that of attempting to help the community move toward a solution of regional educational issues. One means of doing so was to encourage the formation of a coalition of citizens and organizations to consider educational problems within the framework of an areawide solution.

Gross was also invited to meet with the president of the county legislature and was surprised to find members of the Intergovernmental Committee present at this meeting. He was asked to make his presentation to the entire group which he did, placing his emphasis on the need for pooling the community's limited resources to solve some of the pressing problems in the educational environment. A subcommittee of the Intergovernmental Committee was appointed at this meeting to consider the matter; Gross was asked to assist, as necessary.

A few days later, Gross was asked to meet again with the president of the county legislature and the president and executive director of Urbanarium. Urbanarium agreed to try to develop a support group for an investigation of areawide delivery of educational services. Efforts are now being made to encourage community decision-makers to support this concept. Public meetings are planned, and persons from successful coalition-building organizations around the country are being asked to come to Rochester to present their ideas on strategies conducive to the successful development of metropolitan education.

Support-building is being supplemented by attempts to persuade DHEW to restore the ESAA interdistrict grants and the metropolitan planning grants which had been eliminated in 1973. Urbanarium is making a formal request for this action, and the appropriate members of Congress are being asked to lend their support for this request.

Conclusions

The Metropolitan World of Inquiry School was, in a sense, the extension of an innovation into a larger arena. While the Rochester World of Inquiry School did have some suburban students coming into its school, it was primarily a school for the urban children. The setting up of the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School was an attempt to develop the concept of a neutral-site school on a metropolitan basis, i.e., as a facility for students from the entire County of Monroe. The proportion of students from minority groups would de facto be almost exclusively from the urban environment. The White student population, however, could be expected to be drawn both from urban and from suburban school districts.

While the details of operation of this school caused problems, the initial planning and approval stages proceeded smoothly. Gross' desire to set up a Metropolitan World of Inquiry School needed little more than the approval of DHEW and the ESAA advisory committee to get started. But it is important to recognize that such ease of getting approval and funds to start the school was based on the success of the Rochester World of Inquiry School. DHEW's familiarity with and favorable opinion of the Rochester World of Inquiry School led it to agree quickly to the establishment of this new school and to approve its inclusion in the USITP funding proposal.

The implementation stage was where the program had its difficulties and where it eventually faltered. To set up the school required a formal organization to run the program and a place in which to house it. With individual school districts refusing to be responsible for the school, that was the most serious of the two problems. Failure to find an educational entity to run the program would have doomed the school to failure. BOCES seemed an ideal organization to run the school's program. As a regional entity, it could provide "neutral" administration of the school's program, thereby by-passing the kind of community resistance that had been evident in communities considering participation in USITP. While the BOCES board had the power to make the decision on running the program and the Webster Board of Education could make the decision of providing a site, both boards chose to take the issues to their respective constituencies.

It would be difficult to assess how much the school's social goal of racial integration impacted upon the boards' decisions. Other factors also may have influenced their actions. The BOCES board may have been anxious about the somewhat tenuous blessing that the State Education Department had given the program. The controversy in Webster essentially revolved around which school to provide as a site and not particularly about whether tc provide a site at all.

The focus of the controversy on the school site in Webster is somewhat surprising in that Webster had never accepted minority children under USITP; and, at that time, less than one percent of the district's students were minority children.[10] The fact that there was so little opposition to bringing minority children into the districts may have been because: (1)there were monetary advantages in leasing an unused school; and/or (2) a neutral-site school run by a neutral organization such as BOCES would neither involve Webster's administrators in the program nor change the present composition of the student bodies in neighborhood schools. A third possibility may be that the issue of which school to lease mobilized forces about that question, thus serving to preempt a coalescing about the racial issue.

In the short life-span of this school, there appears to have been only two clear instances where coalition-building occurred: (1) the dispute over the appointment of a principal for the school; and (2) the controversy in Webster over a school site. Although the ESAA advisory committee was newly established at the time that the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School was begun, there seems to have been a strong linkage between the members of that committee and the USITP administrator. This committee formally approved of the concept of a Metropolitan World of Inquiry School and also apparently was in agreement with Gross's perception of William Pugh and some of the staff of the Rochester World of Inquiry School being the most appropriate persons to develop the school's program. This alliance may have been the basis of the committee's rejection of the principal initially proposed by BOCES.

Those groups in Webster that debated the school site were a function of the immediate issue; their respective interests focused on protection of the neighborhood school concept. For the most part, they were quite informal in nature. The organizational efforts exerted by the Ridgecrest group apparently did serve to mobilize people in the community. The sheer weight of numbers of Ridgecrest supporters influenced the board's decision to retain the Ridgecrest School.

In this study, Norman Gross clearly emerges as the one person who has been the moving force in establishing this school. His interest in seeing such a school started appears to have gone beyond solely providing the funds for a school and has extended into the area of the educational program of such a school. Gross' insistence on bringing the principal and some staff out from the Rochester World of Inquiry

School implies that he conceived the metropolitan version of this school as being closely patterned after the Rochester school. Harris from BOCES apparently had strong reservations about emulating the Rochester school. Inherent in this philosophical argument may have been the question of control of the school. The ESAA advisory committee was designated to act as monitor of the program under ESAA guidelines. Some persons perceived the committee as being aligned with Gross' interest in the program. Should the principal of the school also be someone considered as Gross' man, then there was apprehension that de facto control of the program would emanate from the office of the USITP administrator. Appointment of a neutral choice as principal resolved that particular impasse, but the fact that no one from the Rochester World of Inquiry School was involved in the start-up of the school may have led to the drift away from the World of Inquiry School model towards a more traditional school. Innovative approaches were still incorporated into the school's program, but innovation became less the focus of the school as time elapsed, and basic skills were emphasized in response to parents' desires.

The 1975-76 school year was the last year of operation for the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. During this same period, the Campus School operated by the State University at Brockport became the focus for establishing a new World of Inquiry type school, to be funded under USITP. Located in the suburban district of Brockport, such a school would serve to replace the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School as an innovative neutral-site school under a neutral administration.

This study raises a question as to the implications for innovations when federal and state departments encourage innovative approaches to address racial imbalance, but then raise obstacles to their implementation. For example, at the federal level, the 1974 Byrd amendment meant that USITP could no longer use federal funds to provide transportation to those students in its program. Also, the elimination of funds under ESAA's metropolitan section meant that the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School could no longer be recognized officially as such for the purpose of funding. At the state level, there seemed to be a great deal of concern about allowing BOCES to run the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. This was the first time for such BOCES involvement; worry about precedent-setting and political implications caused the state administrators to draw back from full and complete endorsement of this innovative approach to integrated education.

The present metropolitan approach to education is being promoted on the basis of more than just quality education and racial imbalance. A very timely approach to fiscal savings is stressed. The use of a neutral mentor has been chosen once again as the most feasible way of shielding a concept from parochial resistance. Deliberate efforts are underway to build support in the community, especially among those persons whose influence can make a difference when it comes to a time of decision-making. The City of Rochester and the County of Monroe have not heard the last of the metropolitan concept for educational services.

NOTES

1. ESEA Title III funds were available for supplementary educational centers and services in order to stimulate and assist in provision of vitally needed educational services and in development and establishment of elementary and secondary school programs to serve as models for regular school programs.

2. Project Unique is an acronym for United Now for Integrated Quality Urban-Suburban Education.

3. Because of the emotional climate which still exists today in regard to the transportation of students across school district lines, the interviews that were conducted were private interviews and are not referenced in this report. Information from interviews has been verified insofar as possible by documentation from newspaper libraries, school district and USITP records, and other written materials.

4. ESAA Title VII funds are available to qualifying school districts which are implementing integration plans, either voluntarily or by court order.

5. Prior to 1973, a school district could not lease an empty building to a profit-making organization or company. A 1973 law allowed school districts to lease a building to anyone at any rent. However, a Webster attorney did raise the question of whether a building could be leased only if it were not being used for educational purposes.

6. An interesting aside is that six years later declining enrollment and economic factors necessitated the transfer of the student body from Ridgecrest to Schlegel Road.

7. The Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES) is a one-to-three County Regional Board of Education and part of the legal structure provided by New York State Educational Law to finance school services and practices in two or more local school districts.

8. The Times Union, August 2, 1973.

9. League of Women Voters Education Fund, Supercity/Hometown, U.S.A., Prospects for Two-Tier Government (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), p. 11, cites: "The two-tier idea calls for a general-purpose government with the power and duty to develop policies and handle issues affecting the entire region--such problems as water and air pollution, mass transit, hospital and college planning, and

many others. Coupled with this 'supercity' would be neighborhood units (in the case of suburbs, probably identical with present boundaries) empowered to deal with issues of localized concern, from garbage pickup to police protection, issues requiring direct and frequent interaction between citizens and public servants."

10. The Times Union, January 22, 1976.

F

PARAPROFESSIONALS IN THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

by

Paul J. Flynn

(Footnotes on p. F-24)

PARAPROFESSIONALS IN
THE SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

Introduction

Many believe that one of the hallmarks of twentieth-century society is the importance of science and technology and the consequent rise in influence of scientists and other professionals. Frederick C. Mosher, in his influential monograph, Democracy and the Public Service, has described the rise of professional groups, their influence on public policy, and the clash between professional values and democratic values. According to Mosher, a profession is "a (1) reasonably clear-cut occupational field, (2) which ordinarily requires higher education at least through the bachelor's level, and (3) which offers a lifetime career to its members."[1] Of course, this is a broad definition that encompasses a number of professions, including the general professions such as medicine and law and public service professionals such as military officers, educators, and social workers.

Much of our government is in the hands of professionals. (Mosher estimates one-third.) The danger of this development, according to Mosher, is that:

> The choice of these professionals, the determination of their skills, and the content of their work are now principally determined, not by general governmental agencies, but by their own professional elites, professional organizations, and the institutions and faculties of higher education.[2]

What is true for professionals is true, probably to a lesser degree, for those on the fringe of professionalism. These occupations include what Mosher calls the emergent professions such as law enforcement, many categories of administration such as budget and personnel administration, and public relations. Members of these occupations are currently engaged in the struggle for professional status, and controversies swirl around such issues as licensing, collective bargaining, certification, and training.

A category of occupations that Mosher did not consider has emerged, mostly in the last decade. These occupations have been labeled variously as paraprofessional, auxilliary personnel, subprofessional, preprofessional, and semiprofessional. They span a number of professions. In medicine, there are paramedics, nurse-practitioners, and midwives; in law, there are paralegal workers; and, in education, there are teacher aides, teaching assistants, and teaching associates, among other titles. In the New York City school system, there are eleven classifications of paraprofessional educational personnel.

Paraprofessional occupations exhibit many characteristics of the professions. They can fit the three criteria of a profession mentioned by Mosher. They can involve higher education or training, licensing, certification, and associations. Perhaps, what sets paraprofessions apart, however, even from the emerging professions, is their self-conscious position below that of the master professions. Can there be the spirit of an elite corps when a group works under the direction of another occupation? What tensions develop in public sector organizations between professionals and paraprofessionals? What has influenced the rise of paraprofessionalism? And what might the place of paraprofessions be in organizations of the future? Does paraprofessionalism hold the same potential threat to democratic values that Mosher believes is the case with professionalism?

The following case is a study of paraprofessional teachers in the Syracuse City School District. The case is in four parts. First, a background of the rise of paraprofessionals in education will be related. Second is the case study of Syracuse. Since the decision-making in Syracuse was heavily influenced by state and federal agencies, the third section will concentrate on intergovernmental relations. The final section will consist of a discussion and conclusions.

Background on the Development of the Paraprofessional Teacher Movement in the United States

The purpose of this section is to sketch the history of the utilization of paraprofessional teachers in the United States over the past 30 years. Literature on the impact of paraprofessionals in elementary and secondary education, as well as evaluations of their performance, will be reviewed. The major conclusions will be that the function of paraprofessional teachers and the specific roles they have played in the classroom have evolved during three historical periods, and that each period has brought increased duties and professional responsibilities to the position. As a result, this increased professionalization of the position may be leading to conflict with the teaching profession and a decline in the use of paraprofessionals.

1940s to 1964: The Paraprofessional as a Teacher Aide

The paraprofessional movement can be traced to a widely publicized experiment in Bay City, Michigan, in 1952. Before that time, there had been scattered reports of the use of teacher aides ranging back to 1942. The literature in the educational journals on such aides in the 1940s and 1950s was distinctly hostile. The aides performed strictly supervisory, clerical, and housekeeping chores in the school. They had no direct contact with children in the classroom, either on an instructional or an emotional level. Teacher aides would perform such duties as duplicate materials, correct papers, prepare bulletin boards, keep classrooms neat, make sure that materials were in order, and supervise children during lunch and recess periods. Many of the aides were parent volunteers. Even so, there was criticism. There was a fear that the use of aides would justify larger classes and that it would be difficult for teachers to supervise an adult in the classroom.[3]

This view changed with the Bay City experiment which was sponsored by the Ford Foundation.[4] The Ford project, "A Cooperative Study for the Better Utilization of Teacher Competencies," apparently spawned other programs and served as a prototype. The Ford report emphasized the positive results of using paraprofessional teachers, and the use of aides was recommended by a 1955 White House Conference on Education.[5] According to their supporters, the real contribution of teacher aides was the alleviation of teachers' nonprofessional tasks, allowing them to concentrate on instruction. Journal literature in the late 1950s and afterward touted teacher aides as providing the benefits of: (1) temporary help in times of teacher shortage; (2) teacher recruitment; (3) an enriched curriculum providing outside perspectives; (4) involvement of lay citizens in worthwhile activities; (5) higher achievement on the part of students; and (6) allowing teachers to enrich their courses and experiment with new ideas.[6] The last cited benefit became more important in the early 1960s, as interest grew within the educational establishment about such concepts as team teaching and specialization. Despite the claimed benefits, however, the number of teacher aides increased slowly, probably because of a lack of slack resources by local educational agencies for innovative ideas and resistance on the part of an entrenched profession.

1964 to about 1970: The Heady Days of the Great Society

The number of paraprofessional teachers mushroomed in the 1960s. In 1964, the number was probably in the hundreds. By 1971, there were over 200,000.[7] This development is almost entirely attributable to three landmark legislative thrusts of President Johnson's Great Society program, which not only provided outside funding, but encouraged paraprofessionals to adopt new functions and roles in the classroom.

The first general use of paraprofessional teachers came after the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was established, and a number of programs aimed at combating poverty were launched. One of the most popular and well-known of these programs was Project Head Start, which was an attempt to assist economically and culturally disadvantaged preschool children in preparation for their education. This goal coincided with an evolving belief among educators that the general environment of the child plays an important role in the learning process. If poor preschool children were less prepared for school than their middle-class counterparts, then their learning environment had to be changed. Thus, the federal government launched a massive program to ensure that these children received necessary physical, emotional, and instructional aid. This included not only food, but also supplemental instruction and continuing contacts between the school and home environments. If the proper environment for learning were created, it was widely believed that learning would occur.

OEO specifically encouraged the employment of teacher aides in Head Start programs. The teacher aides were recruited from the same target population as the children: the indigenous poor. In encouraging local agencies to hire these aides, OEO believed that the result would: (1) break down the "impersonality and distance between the professional teacher and the child and the parent" by interposing a mediating person, closely related by background to the family; and (2) "provide an institutional means for the poor to help themselves."[8] Although the teacher maintained the overall direction of the classroom, the Head Start aides performed a number of roles, including some formal instruction, contacts with parents, housekeeping, and planning.[9] However, the emphasis was to bridge a cultural gap between the teacher and the children while providing "significant and respectable" employment.[10] In the jargon of the 1960s, it was to make education relevant to the students and participatory in their neighborhood.

The second piece of federal legislation, and by far the most important in its influence on the rise of paraprofessionalism, was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) and subsequent amendments in the late 1960s and 1970s. ESEA represented the federal government's entrance into the sponsorship and regulation of a function that had been almost entirely a state and local concern. ESEA was and is a complicated piece of legislation. The original act was only nine pages in length; but, by 1978, ESEA had grown to 323 pages.[11]

The influence on paraprofessionals came mainly through Title I, ESEA's program of compensatory education that was aimed at raising the educational achievement of the children of the inner-city poor. Title III, ESEA, which funded educational innovations, was also responsible for some programs that employed paraprofessionals. In addition, following the passage of ESEA, a number of states launched their own programs to raise the academic standards of the disadvantaged. In 1969, the New York State Legislature enacted an urban educational program, the main purpose of which was to meet the special educational needs associated with poverty.[12] The guidelines both of ESEA and of the New York State programs were very broad and included:

(1) Improving both the academic achievement (especially reading performance) and the social and personal growth of the inner-city pupil;

(2) Increasing the involvement of parents and citizens of inner-city neighborhoods in improving the teaching and learning process; and

(3) Giving recognition to persons indigenous to inner-city neighborhoods by placing them in visible and significant paraprofessional roles.

ESEA Title I, thus, closely followed the precedent of Head Start. Many of the objectives were the same. Where Head Start sought to endow disadvantaged preschool children with the same capacity to learn as most American children, Title I sought to ensure that those same children kept up throughout the course of their schooling.

The administration of Title I will be described in more detail below, but it should be made clear at this point that neither Title I nor the New York program required the employment of paraprofessionals. Title I administrators in the U. S. Office of Education have always allowed the states and local educational agencies broad discretion in implementing the equally broad goals of Title I. In fact, very little in the way of known and proven programs existed to accomplish the goals. Thus, officials at all levels proceeded in the belief that, at minimum, (1) the inner-city students needed more individual attention to concentrate or an improvement in basic academic skills, and (2) teachers needed assistance to plan and develop improved programs.[14] There was no shortage of funds to fuel these needs; and a number of strategies were employed, including hiring professional specialists, providing training for teachers, buying extra materials and equipment, and providing special cultural opportunities for children.

Paraprofessional teachers quickly became an accepted part of the package of strategies for compensatory education. The use of paraprofessionals satisfied the employment, participation, and communications-bridge functions, noted earlier. Just as important, however, it soon became obvious that there were not enough teachers to fuel the Title I mandate, especially teachers trained in compensatory education.[15] The U. S. Office of Education, in an advisory bulletin, suggested that local urban educational agencies might consider hiring teacher aides.[16] The response was quickly felt. It was noted earlier that there were 200,000 paraprofessional teachers in the United States, and there were projections that 1.5 million aides would be in school districts by 1980.[17] In New York City, 14,000 paraprofessionals were hired between 1967 and 1971.[18] In Minneapolis, there were over 1,000 paraprofessionals serving 60,000 students in 1973, where, ten years earlier, there had been only eight.[19]

1970 to Present: The Professionalization of Paraprofessionals

While the numbers of paraprofessional teachers increased dramatically during the 1960s, their range of roles was slower to expand. They were being utilized mostly in support activities and were not encouraged to have much direct contact with students. For example, a 1966 survey of paraprofessionals in Minneapolis found that 50 percent of the aide's time was spent on routine clerical and housekeeping duties, 24 percent on supervision of pupils in large groups, and only 22 percent on giving direct instructional attention to individuals or small groups of pupils.[20] In short, the roles of paraprofessionals had evolved little since the 1950s.

This began to change after the passage of the third major piece of federal legislation: the Education Professions Development Act of 1967 (EPDA), which represented the federal government's "foray into the arenas of teacher training and staff development."[21] The need was apparent; there was a shortage of teachers to serve urban clients. The goal was to improve the ability of existing teachers through training to deliver services to their disadvantaged clientele, as well as to encourage the production of additional teachers to serve that clientele.

The Career Opportunities Program (COP) was EPDA's major vehicle to attain the latter objective. During its five-year duration, COP provided $129 million for the training of 14,000 low-income paraprofessionals in 132 projects and 3,000 public schools.[22] COP went beyond

Head Start and Title I, in that a major aim was to incorporate the paraprofessional in an instructional role, working directly with children, not acting simply as a teacher aide, but as a teaching assistant. COP programs brought in teacher training institutions on a widespread scale to train the paraprofessionals, both on-site and in the classroom. Cooperating local educational agencies had to provide a defined career ladder (or lattice) for the paraprofessional, so that the paraprofessional could fully hope to become a certified teacher. By the time the program ended in 1975, about 4,500 new urban teachers had been produced.[23] The number of colleges offering training for paraprofessionals climbed from a dozen in 1967 to 168 by 1972.[24]

The idea of devolving more responsibility for instruction to paraprofessionals coincided with new conceptions of the teaching profession and teachers' education in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Perhaps at the heart of the notion of teachers' career development was the idea of differentiated staffing, or, perhaps more simply, increased specialization. Instructors in various specialties would shoulder responsibilities along a continuum. This would start at an entry level where an aide would provide noninstructional assistance. The aide would then pass through various noncertified steps (teaching assistant, teaching associate, intern) and, finally, through certified positions such as teacher, instructional specialist, and master teacher. Thus, increased responsibilities for paraprofessionals would allow teachers to become specialists and provide upward mobility for teachers along a career ladder other than that of school management.[25]

Although the verdict may not be in as to whether the career lattice is a bonafide trend in the teaching profession, the idea of an instructional role for paraprofessionals took hold. A number of states passed legislation that not only recognized the existence of paraprofessional teachers, but also granted them certain rights and responsibilities.[26] In New York, for example, the state legislature differentiated teacher aides from teaching assistants in 1971. While aides may not engage in instructional activities, assistants may assume great responsibility for instruction with only minimal supervision from a certified teacher. Although there are no educational requirements for aides, assistants must have a high school degree; and they can become permanently certified after one year, upon completing six hours of education-related college courses. The assistants are part of the teachers' retirement system and are protected under the same tenure provisions as those for regular teachers.

The Impact of Paraprofessional Teachers and the Future

The evaluation of paraprofessional teachers by educational scholars has been more favorable than the evaluation of compensatory education in general. Reporting in 1972, Frank Reissman portrayed a gloomy picture of state educational programs aimed at urban disadvantaged students. The National Institute of Education has also evaluated these programs.[27] Reissman cited three studies: those by the Organization for Economic Cooperative Development (OECD) and the American Institute for Research; and the Westinghouse report on Head Start. His general conclusion was that compensatory programs had not shown their worth in terms of cognitive achievement. Such advantages as increased teaching, smaller class size, and increased funding had not been shown to affect the performance of the disadvantaged student. Reissman went on to speculate about reasons for the poor results up to 1972, including the possibility that not enough had been done and that more resources were needed. He conceded, as well, that the failure could have been caused by the rigidity (over-control, lethargy, etc.) of the educational system, lack of teacher training, and bickering between opposing groups such as teachers and community leaders. However, more recent research has provided contradictory evidence. In 1977, the National Institute of Education presented the results of its major study of the effects of services on students. It reported that, in general, the results showed that compensatory educational instructional programs were effective in the districts that were examined.

There seems to be a general consensus, however, that paraprofessional teachers were one aspect of Title I that succeeded. Bloom for example, cites a number of studies that, by 1973, had demonstrated a positive relation between the presence of paraprofessionals and students' achievement.[28] Reissman and Gartner also confirmed this finding.[29] In addition, the Career Opportunities Program has been intensively studied, and more recent reports have singled it out, in particular, as a successful use of paraprofessionals. In an attitudinal study of COP in Minneapolis, Falk found that teachers and principals overwhelmingly believed that teacher aides succeeded in individualizing education and that the aides were a useful resource for the professional staff.[30] A 1975 study by the New Careers Training Laboratory of Queens College surveyed COP-trained teachers in comparison with nonCOP-trained teachers at 15 of the 132 COP projects. A clear pattern emerged, indicating that COP-trained teachers who had been paraprofessionals performed better than their counterparts. They were rated higher by students, parents, and principals; and their students achieved higher results on standardized achievement tests.

The Future

Despite the generally favorable evaluation of the impact of paraprofessional teachers in local school districts, the future of this occupation in the United States is clouded. However, any comments made here are necessarily speculative, since there has been a dearth of literature on the subject of paraprofessionals in the last few years.[31]

As late as 1973, Bloom observed that teacher aides could very well replace teachers:

> Not infrequently one finds teacher aides, with verbal abilities, intuition, warmth, and energy, much more effective in creating a learning environment than a qualified teacher . . . . Aides with a year or two of specialized training, and with the personal attributes previously mentioned, can do and have done effective jobs in instruction in the elementary grades of school.[32]

Bloom did not mean, however, that aides would entirely replace teachers. He believed the career lattice would evolve, where teachers would move on to other specialities such as diagnosis and prescription of educational needs.

The luxury of that 1973 observation may not be possible today. The conditions that favored the rise of educational paraprofessionals are not as strong today, and, in some cases, are absent. In the 1960s, there was a strong yet broad federal mandate on compensatory education, generous funding, a shortage of teachers, and rising enrollments. In contrast, in the 1970s, the federal mandate has been modified. The language favoring broad participation and relevancy has been replaced with back-to-basics language. The emphasis is on instruction and academic achievement, the weaker suit for the paraprofessional.

As will be discussed later, Title I funding tightened in the 1970s. In New York State, for example, Title I allocations dropped from $215 million in 1973 to $180 million in 1976.[33] Nationally, Title I funding grew every year, from 1966 when it totalled $746 million until 1972 when it was $1.6 billion. In 1973 and 1974, Congress cut Title I back: first, to $1.5 billion; then, to $1.4 billion.[34] While allocation levels have rebounded in the last two years to over $2 billion, the future is uncertain.

There is a glut of teachers today, many of whom are competing for jobs that have been filled in the past by paraprofessionals. The shortage of teachers that existed through the 1950s and 1960s came to an end about 1970. By 1977, despite dropping enrollments in teacher education programs, there was a surplus of 70,000 teachers.[35] In addition, teachers' unions are better organized and much more vocal in 1978 than they were in the 1960s, and they are jealously guarding their members' job security.

Finally, enrollment in the United States' public elementary and secondary schools has been dropping, creating less demand for paraprofessionals. Enrollment grew steadily until it peaked at 45.9 million in 1970. By fall 1975, it had dropped to 44.8 million.[36] As a consequence, the number of paraprofessionals may decline, if it has not already done so. In New York State (not including New York City), the number of paraprofessional teachers peaked at about 12,000 individuals in 1973 and has declined to about 9,000. In New York City, the number dropped from 14,000 in 1971 to 10,000 in 1978.[37] Nationally, the number of paraprofessionals in 1974 was about 206,000, a figure that had changed little from the estimated 200,000 in 1970.[38] The New York State Title I office is now advising local educational agencies that, when vacancies occur in their paraprofessional force, the vacancies should be filled with certified teachers.[39] The state reasons that many experienced teachers, currently unemployed, could reasonably be employed as teaching assistants.

The future may not be as bleak as it now seems. Federal funds are one reason for cautious optimism about paraprofessionals. While it is true that Title I support is not as strong and certain as it once was (considering inflation), other sources of funds have appeared, and new mandates have been promulgated by Washington. Probably, the two most important new sources of federal educational aid, in terms of underwriting the cost of paraprofessionals, have been the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) and the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA).

In each of the past three years, ESAA has given over $200 million, and the Department of Labor has dispensed over $3 billion to local educational agencies.[40] In addition, certain areas affected by federal installations receive aid under PL81-874, federal impact. Impact aid has varied widely, but has settled at the $500-700 million range in the last three years. A small portion of impact aid, the low-rent housing provision of impact aid legislation, must be used in conjunction with Title I programs; the remainder is unrestricted. ESAA funds are used in desegregation efforts, and CETA funds are unrestricted.

Meanwhile, new mandates and new federal aid programs have been launched in recent years in the areas of bilingual education and education for children with handicaps. The Bilingual Education Act of 1967 (Title VII, ESEA) was not initially well-funded. However, after a 1974 Supreme Court case that spurred bilingual educational efforts, funds were increased.[41] Paraprofessionals then became much in demand because of the lack of trained teachers. Much the same has been the case with education of the handicapped since the passage of PL94-142 in 1976.

A final reason why the demand for paraprofessionals might not slacken is what might be termed a cost-effectiveness argument. That a school financial crisis exists is well-known and beyond the scope of this case for discussion. Some educators have suggested that greater use of paraprofessionals can help local educational agencies reduce costs. Bloom argues that, if the nation is committed to better education through smaller size classes, the hiring of more teachers, despite the oversupply, is out of the question on the basis of cost:

> To achieve any fundamental reduction in average class size, while maintaining the traditional instructional practices, would put a drain on available manpower and raise the costs of staffing the schools beyond what the nation could afford. As a consequence, therefore, it seems that one of the few acceptable alternatives to this dilemma is to make greater use of less highly educated, lower paid teacher aides in instructional roles, and to develop new staffing configurations, combining the talents and abilities of teachers and aides, to individualize instruction.[42]

This argument assumes, of course, that paraprofessionals are going to accept lower salaries than teachers for performing the same work. As paraprofessionals become better organized, however, this may not be the case. In point of fact, teacher assistants have been and are being used in place of certified teachers in some areas.[43] In some rural school districts in New York State, one certified teacher supervises ten to fifteen paraprofessionals in order to reduce the cost of teachers.

A firm conclusion on the future is difficult to make. Some patterns such as less relative funding and more teachers do not favor paraprofessionals. New mandates and cost-cutting procedures may favor paraprofessionals. Two conclusions do seem relatively safe. First, the expectations of the 1960s on the growth of paraprofessionals have not been realized. Second, some of the original purposes of paraprofessionalism such as the encouragement of new careers for the poor, cultural diversity in the classroom, and greater communication between school and neighborhood seem less important in the 1970s.

Paraprofessionals in the Syracuse City School District

Adoption: A Quiet Introduction in the Midst of a Large-Scale Program

The roots of paraprofessionalism in Syracuse can be traced back to 1958, although the first paid teacher aides were not actually hired until 1964. In 1958, Syracuse University established a Youth Development Center (YDC), an effort that was broad in scope and aimed at the problems of children.[44] The center was funded by the university and eventually attracted outside funding from the Ford Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the Office of Education.

One of the first concerns of YDC was the growing concentration of culturally disadvantaged children in the inner city area of Syracuse. Between 1950 and 1960, a wave of Black migration boosted the Black percentage of the city's population from two percent to six percent.[45] By 1970, it was twelve percent and rising. Because this new group of immigrants settled mainly in the lower east side and lower south side of Syracuse, the schools in that area experienced increased enrollments of minority students, most of whom had special needs. YDC soon began to focus its attention on Madison Junior High School which had an 85 percent Black enrollment. The problem was not only that students had special needs, but also that teachers lacked experience in dealing with the problems of educational and cultural disadvantage. The concepts of compensatory education and urban education were in their infancy.

In 1961, YDC commissioned the Syracuse University School of Education to study the educational problems of the central city; and its report, Analysis and Proposals for the Madison Area Education Program, was a blueprint for a large-scale urban educational program. Foreshadowing later Title I efforts, the report called for curriculum changes, expanded student services, education of parents, faculty services, inservice training, and enlarged recreational and community activities. Specific goals included increased academic achievement levels, improved motivation and self-image, and community information and involvement.[46]

To implement the plans, YDC attracted a $160,000 Ford Foundation grant. Together with school district funds and funding from the State Education Department, the Madison Area Project was able to commence operations during the 1960-1963 school year. The project was a semi-autonomous unit within the school district and was directed by Mario Fantini. Change was the organization's mandate, and educational innovation became an accepted phenomenon. Fantini wrote:

> The Syracuse School District via the Madison Area Project was privileged to serve as the catalyst for change, toward the goal of establishing a broader framework of action in facing and solving urban problems. . . . [It]

> was the laboratory where educational change could begin, a subunit for creating and nurturing new ideas.[47]

The Madison Area Project comprised about sixteen separate components in Madison Junior High School and two neighborhood elementary schools: Washington Irving and Croton. In addition, Syracuse University and the school district received an additional $378,000 from the Ford Foundation in January 1964 to implement an urban educational program, leading to a master's degree. Central to the program were teachers' internships at the three schools.

The Madison Area Project component of greatest interest to this case was the school volunteer program. This program was a clear forerunner of paraprofessionals in the classroom. In the first two years of the program, about 200 individuals donated time to the school district to perform mostly clerical duties such as correcting tests, assisting in libraries, and chaperoning trips. The effort was well organized. A school volunteer committee recruited and screened volunteers, and orientation sessions were held. In the second year, the volunteers expanded their efforts and offered tutoring in reading and mathematics. However, the emphasis was mainly on creating spare time for teachers to plan.

The Madison Area Project underwent an organizational change in its third and last year, 1964-1965. The Ford grant had stipulated that, during the third year of the project, Ford funds would underwrite only 10 percent of the project's budget. This was Ford's way of encouraging local responsibility. Other sources of funds had to be located. A major source of funds was found in a federal program: the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. In 1962, a City of Syracuse agency, the Mayor's Commission for Youth, applied for a grant from the federal program which was awarded. The largest component of the grant concerned education.[48] The mayor's commission then entered into a contract with the school district to provide the services for the educational component. In June 1964, Robert Kennedy visited Syracuse to inaugurate the program and publicly presented the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency grant of $750,000.

During the 1964-1965 school year, the Madison Area Project was renamed "Syracuse Action for Youth" and was administered by a newly created office in the school district, the Special Programs Office Fantini was appointed head of Special Programs, and Harry S. Balmer assumed leadership of the former Madison Area Project as Education Director of Syracuse Action for Youth. In 1965, Fantini left the district, and Balmer was appointed head of the Special Programs Office, a position that he continues to hold.

With the new funding, the former Madison Area Project was expanded to include seven additional schools. The overall goals remained the same, and the programs were continued and strengthened. At the start of the school year, the first five teacher aides were hired. As Balmer recalls, he was instrumental in the decision to hire the teacher aides, but he does not recall the specific origin of the idea.[49] Balmer and members of his staff were aware of the use of paraprofessionals elsewhere, and the idea probably was a combination of input both from the director and the staff. The experience with the school volunteers bolstered the decision. The decision was a quiet one. It was made in the context of a large-scale program whose components eventually were absorbed in the district's Title I program. It was not a major decision and was not seen as introducing a major change itself. It sparked no controversy, and it did not require the specific approval of the superintendent of schools or the board of education. However, this small-scale program laid the groundwork for the hiring of large numbers of paraprofessional teachers in the next decade.

Early Years of Paraprofessionals in Syracuse

The Syracuse City School District was an early adopter of the concept of paraprofessional teachers, and its experience with paraprofessionals followed developments on the national level, noted earlier. In the 1960s, paraprofessionals in Syracuse were utilized mainly in a supportive role and had little direct contact with students. They were considered to be teacher aides and concentrated on such supportive services as correcting papers, checking homework, supervising pupils, and assisting in the office. The view of the Special Programs Office that supervised the aides was that the aides were employed to relieve teachers from nonprofessional tasks, allowing teachers to devote more individual attention to students and freeing them for more effective planning and inservice training.[50] Two other major considerations in hiring paraprofessionals were the employment and communication concerns. The school district hired aides and assigned them to schools in their neighborhood in the hope that the neighborhood environment could be helped through increased employment and closer links between the home and the school.

With these goals in mind, the program was well received, both inside and outside the school district. Inside, there was little opposition from the group most directly concerned: the teachers. Teachers were happy to be relieved of some of their more tedious duties. In the neighborhoods, the aides were as well received as the volunteers had been earlier, not only because such outsiders were providing new insights and special talents, but also because of the practical aspect of increased employment.

One exception to the use of paraprofessionals as clerical aides in the early years was in the pre-kindergarten program, directed by Lillian Feldman. This program, first funded in 1966, was modeled after the federal Head Start program. Head Start was a summer program aimed at preparing preschool, disadvantaged children for early childhood education. To expand the concept to a year-round effort, Governor Rockefeller launched a state effort. Feldman, who had previously been a kindergarten teacher and a guidance counselor in the Madison Area Project, as well as Head Start director, was chosen to direct the local effort, and she recruited teacher aides from the beginning of the project. Unlike aides in other district programs, however, the pre-kindergarten aides worked very closely with teachers. Their duties included setting up the learning environment, planning, and direct communication with parents. Furthermore, the 25 aides were recruited from the inner-city neighborhoods, although this was not required by law.[51]

Growth of Paraprofessionals and Expanded Duties

As table 1 indicates, the number of paraprofessionals increased upon the establishment of Title I in the 1966-1967 school year. The push for compensatory education had begun in earnest and was accelerated by the supplementary state urban aid program beginning in the 1968-1969 school year. Syracuse reflected the national-level dilemma of trying to staff a new program in the midst of a shortage of teachers. However, unlike many cities, Syracuse had previous experience with compensatory education because of the Madison Area Project. The favorable experience with volunteer aides and teacher aides, earlier, no doubt set the stage for massive hirings in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

As the number of aides increased, their duties began to evolve. To some extent, this was because of the natural organizational dynamics. As teachers, administrators, and paraprofessionals became more familiar with working together, the range of duties deemed appropriate for paraprofessionals was bound to change. However, the change was hastened greatly in Syracuse by a series of New York State mandates. Until 1969, there had been no guidelines imposed by the State Education Department for the duties of paraprofessionals. In addition, there never have been any federal standards. As will be pointed out in more detail below, state officials became concerned that there was a need for standards as the employment of paraprofessionals became ever more popular. The state's concern was ensuring that educational goals were being properly served. Thus, the state moved to create a career ladder for paraprofessionals, defining the circumstances in which they could assist in instruction. At the same time, the state's Title I officials pressured local officials to comply with the ruling that what paraprofessionals did was directly related to programs of compensatory education. The state would not permit Title I-funded paraprofessionals to provide vague, clerical duties that could not be directly linked to Title I programs. Districts were further expected to provide inservice training for paraprofessionals. In 1973, the state further focused Title I paraprofessionals' duties by mandating that all Title I programs emphasize remedial reading, mathematics, or bilingual education.

The evolution in the duties of paraprofessionals was fully accepted by the administrative supervisors in the district. To reiterate, several of these administrators had been actively involved in compensatory education for years and were convinced of the usefulness of paraprofessionals. However, there was some resistance by teachers at this point. While most teachers welcomed clerical help, probably half were suspicious of any direct role by paraprofessionals in instruction and did not welcome paraprofessionals into their classroom.[52] Many teachers felt directly threatened, viewing the paraprofessionals as spies.

However, the problem never became serious to the point of impeding Title I programs. The Syracuse Teachers Association lodged no complaint. It was mainly viewed as a morale problem, an undercurrent of dissatisfaction among some teachers. In response, the Special Programs Office did conduct a low-key campaign among teachers whenever the

Table 1

EMPLOYMENT OF PARAPROFESSIONALS IN SYRACUSE BY PROGRAM[1]

	Federal Programs							State Programs					Syracuse City School District	Total
School Year	Title I	Title III	ESAA	CETA	Impact Aid	Misc	Sub-total	Pre-School[2]	Urban Aid	Desegregation	Misc	Sub-total		
1966 - 67	30						(30)	20				(20)		50
1967 - 68	31						(31)	20				(20)		51
1968 - 69	49	11					(60)	22	21	9	7	(59)		119
1969 - 70	77	25					(102)	22	40	11		(73)	1	176
1970 - 71	112	25				2	(139)	6	27	9		(42)	1	182
1971 - 72	167						(167)	3	56		11	(70)	3	240
1972 - 73	238						(238)		38			(38)	1	277
1973 - 74	227		20			4	(251)		41			(41)	67	359
1974 - 75	256					3	(259)		26			(26)	12	297
1975 - 76	237			45		35	(317)	14				(14)	83	414
1976 - 77	239		15	19	26	19	(318)				4	(4)	67	389
1977 - 78	203		34	73	17	21	(348)	13				(13)	104[3]	465

Source: Compiled from personnel records of the Office of Planning and Evaluation, Syracuse City School District.

[1] Not all of these figures represent full-time positions, although most do. All figures are estimates.

[2] The figures in this column are uncertain. From 1966 to the present, there have been about 25 paraprofessionals each year in the pre-school program. In some years, New York State funds were supplemented through other sources to underwrite the cost of the paraprofessionals. It is probable that pre-school funds were used in 1972 through 1975 and again in 1976-77 to pay paraprofessionals, but the records are sketchy in this instance.

[3] This number needs explanation. In 1977, the school district revamped its method of handling teacher absences and teacher substitutes. It established a permanent corps of substitute teachers. In 1977-78, many members of this corps were paraprofessionals, not certified teachers. In 1978-79, all of the paraprofessionals were replaced with certified teachers, and the total number of Syracuse City School District paraprofessionals dropped to 14.

opportunity arose such as at teachers' workshops and training sessions. The administrators asked teachers to view the paraprofessionals as tutors, not professional instructors.[53] The problem eventually evaporated with the passage of time, and this can be viewed as a mark of the success of the program. One administrator noted that, in a typical case, an aide who was the first in a school might encounter three out of ten teachers who would not want to deal with the paraprofessional. Others did cooperate, most often with excellent results. Eventually, the word would spread among the teachers that the paraprofessional was a boon to the teacher.[54] Paraprofessionals in their instructional role are now almost completely accepted by teachers. They attend faculty meetings and are considered colleagues. When hostility does occur, in scattered instances, it is a result of specific personality conflicts.

Current Duties of Paraprofessionals in the City School District

The paraprofessional teachers in Syracuse perform a broad range of duties that are generally consistent with the description of paraprofessional roles described earlier in the first part of this case. To list every duty would require a lengthy description, since, as one administrator observed, paraprofessionals now perform probably fifty jobs.[55] The duties depend, in part, on the program that employs the paraprofessional; the current programs that utilize paraprofessionals will be outlined below. Formal school district paraprofessional job descriptions in three programs (reading, kindergarten, and prekindergarten) appear in the appendix and are typical of duties of all paraprofessionals in the district. Paraprofessionals generally supervise 25 to 30 students. As the number of children served has increased over the years, the ratio of paraprofessionals to students has correspondingly decreased. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the ratio was one paraprofessional to 13 to 17 students.[56] However, class sizes throughout the district have remained fairly constant (at about 25 students). This goal is an informal district policy that has been unaffected by the growth of paraprofessionalism.[57]

Paraprofessionals, under the supervision of a teacher, provide instruction and tutoring to individuals and small groups. (In the case of Title I programs, the teacher _must_ be a Title I teacher.) In recent years, the only change has been less opportunity to work with individual students. The teaching assistants also attend about 30-40 hours of training sessions each year. The sessions are of the greatest importance to the newer paraprofessionals; older aides are kept up to date with the latest instructional techniques.

Paraprofessionals are used in a large number of programs. In Title I alone, there are 11 components that employ paraprofessionals, including elementary and secondary reading, assistance with mathematics and language, assistance for mentally and physically handicapped students, and a kindergarten program. About two-thirds of the Title I effort is for reading. Paraprofessionals employed under the ESAA program have been utilized in a special elementary magnet school that is part of the district's desegregation effort. Aides are funded by federal impact aid supplement Title I reading and mathematics components. Most of the paraprofessionals employed by CETA are teacher aides who are not involved in much direct instruction, but help with clerical matters and assist in libraries and in taking attendance. They are also involved in a special business program at the junior high school level. A fast-growing program that employs paraprofessionals is the district's effort for handicapped students. As noted earlier, federal and state mandates aimed at mainstreaming the handicapped have increased the demand for paraprofessional assistance in the classroom. In recent years, most of the paraprofessionals in this area have been funded directly through school district appropriations. Of the 74 paraprofessionals engaged in special education programs (about 40 positions are new in the 1978-1979 school year), less than half are underwritten through outside funding.[58] The tasks of paraprofessionals in this area are somewhat different from those in other areas. Because of the variety of needs, the tasks are not well defined; they are set by the teacher and supervisor.

Incorporating the Paraprofessional Role: The Influence of the Special Programs Office

Another case study in this project has described the growth and importance of the Division of Planning and Evaluation, informally known as Special Programs, headed by Harry S. Balmer.[59] The approximately 80 staff members of the office are important, of course, because of the increasing reliance of the district on revenues from outside sources during the past decade. The power of this office has been vital to routinizing or incorporating the jobs and roles of paraprofessional teachers in the district. There can be little doubt that incorporation has occurred, with a caveat. In an intangible sense, paraprofessionals are simply no longer regarded as an organizational oddity, after almost 15 years. They are not an experiment. They are accepted as an organizational fact by administrators, supervisors, and teachers. In the tangible sense of routinization, they participate in an established career ladder program. They belong to the teachers' labor union (although they belong to a separate bargaining unit and participate somewhat less in union activities). Teaching assistants are eligible for tenure, and some have already retired with full participation in the New York State teachers' retirement system.

The caveat of this argument, as further explained below, is that paraprofessionals still do not enjoy the full status of professional teachers. For this reason, they are the ones most likely to be laid off in the event of a budgetary emergency. Even though the district has shown its willingness to support some paraprofessionals with district funds, such support is necessarily limited.

These are probably two major reasons for the importance of the Special Programs Office to the incorporated use of paraprofessionals in the district, and the first reason stems directly from the fact that the overwhelming majority of paraprofessionals has been associated with funded programs which the Special Programs Office controls. Thus, the Special Programs Office writes the proposals for funding programs that utilize paraprofessionals. (Many, if not most, proposals are self-initiated within the office, although the office at times acts at the suggestion of the superintendent or board of education, and line supervisors are consulted in developing proposals.) This office also evaluates the success of these programs and acts as the interface between the district and outside funding agencies. As a result, the Special Programs Office exercises nearly full policy control over paraprofessionals. The staff hires paraprofessionals, and, in accordance with federal or state guidelines where applicable, assigns the paraprofessionals to specific programs and schools. The staff trains the paraprofessionals. It sets personnel policy within state regulations and participates in the district's collective bargaining with the paraprofessionals' bargaining unit. In sum, the organizational climate has encouraged stability in the development of paraprofessionalism. First, a powerful office has exercized unambiguous authority over the paraprofessionals. Second, the office has always possessed sufficient clout within the school district, vis-à-vis the superintendent, the board of education, and other divisions, to develop the paraprofessional role with little interference. Indeed, since the office began operating in 1964, it has been rebuffed by the school board on only one minor occasion.[60]

The first reason for the importance of the Special Programs Office to paraprofessionalism in Syracuse concerned how it is important; the second reason concerns why. The ideology of the office remains heavily influenced by the legacy of its early years. It is an office committed to urban, or compensatory, education. In the 1960s, its attention was focused on the special needs of urban Blacks. While this is still true in 1979, the office has branched out to help others with special needs, especially handicapped students. From its roots in the Madison Area Project and the volunteer program, the office and its leadership have maintained a commitment to the concept of paraprofessionalism. The maintencance of this commitment has been possible, in turn, because of the stability of the office. Most of the administrative leaders have been with the office since the mid-1960s or before.[61]

The experience of the office and the commitment to the paraprofessionals has probably delayed the erosion of paraprofessionalism in Syracuse at a time when the concept is suffering at the state and national levels (as noted earlier). As table 1 indicates, the number of paraprofessionals in Syracuse continued to grow until about 1975; it has since stabilized at a plateau of about 400. How has the district been able to maintain this number in the face of such pressures as a teacher surplus, budgetary stringencies, and declining enrollment?

The most visible course of action the office has taken has been to apply its considerable experience in a search for additional sponsored programs. This effort has been successful. When the state's allocation of Title I funds was cut in the mid-1970s, the district was forced to support fewer paraprofessionals with Title I funds. In response, the staff prepared proposals to a number of other federal programs, most notably ESAA, CETA, and federal impact aid, in order to maintain the support of paraprofessionals. The number of federally supported paraprofessionals actually increased. Today, there are over 200 individually funded programs in the district, and some of these support one or two paraprofessionals. In addition, the district has been spending less money on materials in order to support paraprofessionals, wherever it has such discretionary authority in administering grants.[62]

In order to maintain the number of aides when Title I funds decreased, another strategy employed by the office was to reduce the number of days of employment for each paraprofessional. On the whole, this was satisfactory to the paraprofessionals because at that time they qualfied for unemployment benefits under New York State law and the shorter period of employment actually reduced their total earnings very little. Finally, when the above effort to maintain paraprofessionals has not met expectations, the district itself has stepped in and paid paraprofessional salaries. How far the district can go in this direction is unclear and will be discussed further.

Meanwhile, the staff of the Special Programs Office spends a great deal of effort to shore up its currently funded programs and to seek out new mandates. For example, the special prekindergarten program sponsored by New York State has been in difficulty for the past several years. Neither state funding nor number of children served has increased since the early 1970s, most likely because the program is not a mandated state program. However, more than the current 20 paraprofessionals would be desirable, according to prekindergarten supervisor, Lillian Feldman.[63] As one way of bolstering the program, the parents of the children served have been very supportive and have lobbied the school district and the state to continue the program and expand it. In another example of such internal efforts, the staff involved in education of children with handicapping conditions is engaged in "Project Childfind," an effort to seek out handicapped students in order to offer them school district services (a growing amount of which are funded from outside sources). Each school in the city has a committee seeking out the handicapped in the neighborhood.[64]

The Near-Term Future of Paraprofessional Teachers in Syracuse

Despite these efforts to maintain the base of paraprofessionals in the school district, some erosion of support may be inevitable. Aside from budgetary constraints caused not only by tighter federal and state monies but also by a city tax base that is not keeping pace with inflation, declining enrollment in the school district is another serious problem. Enrollment in the district peaked in 1933 and again in 1962. (The total city population peaked in the 1960 census.) From 1962 to 1977, public school population dropped from 31,225 to 23,818, a loss of 24 percent (see appendix for yearly enrollments). The projected enrollment in 1980 is 20,559, which represents another 14 percent decline. All other conditions being equal, fewer students will most likely mean less need for paraprofessionals and teachers. A case in point is that the number of paraprofessionals at the Elmwood Elementary School has dropped from seven to three, primarily because of decreased enrollment, and the school may be forced to close in the near future.[65]

Some previously available strategies for maintaining paraprofessionals are no longer available. A prime example is a new constraint caused by collective bargaining. In 1977, state unemployment insurance regulations were modified so that persons temporarily laid off in school districts were declared ineligible to receive benefits. This dealt a blow to many school district employees, including paraprofessionals. As a result, in its bargaining for paraprofessionals, the Syracuse Teachers Association (STA) asked for a guaranteed ten-month work year for paraprofessionals, and the school district agreed to this.[66] Thus, the district has lost the flexibility of negotiating with paraprofessionals on the question of layoffs versus a shorter work year. Thus far, layoffs have been avoided because Title I funding has increased in the past two years. If outside funding should decrease in the future, a reduction in force (RIF) of paraprofessionals will have to occur, rather than maintaining the same number for less time. Future RIFs will be taken care of through attrition, if possible, but STA has already conceived plans for bumping rights should it be necessary to lay off paraprofessionals. In the event of a cut in outside funding, STA would be able to do little on behalf of the paraprofessionals. In the 1978-1979 school district budget, 70 teaching positions were cut, a major concern for STA. In such an atmosphere, finding funds for paraprofessionals would not be an easy task.

The Impact of Paraprofessionals in Syracuse

The supervisiors of paraprofessionals in Syracuse argue that paraprofessionals have contributed a great deal to improvement in urban education. Although detailed statistical studies of the type made in New York City and Minneapolis, for example, have not been carried out in Syracuse, there have been yearly improvements in standardized reading scores and other measures of academic achievement. Administrators are convinced without a doubt that some of this improvement in the quality of instruction is due to the use of paraprofessionals.[67] At the pre-school level, the individualization of instruction and the home visits made possible through paraprofessionals have helped a great many disadvantaged children improve learning abilities. Many parents have commented that they wish that their older children had had the same opportunity.[68]

A second impact has been the improved communication between the schools and those they serve. Administrators believe that this effect has increased the support of the school district and has reduced racial tension. In fact, the school district has now more formally institutionalized the function of communication. For the past two years, twenty community aides, funded by CETA, have been responsible for increasing parents' contacts with the schools.

Retrenchment, or cutbacks, in successful programs are always possible in periods of fiscal constraint. In such cases, organizations have their priorities. If paraprofessionals suffer in Syracuse, it will not be for a lack of a positive impact in the school district; rather, other needs, especially the maintenance of teachers, will have had a higher priority.

Intergovernmental Relations Affecting Paraprofessionals

The influence of state and federal agencies has had an important impact on the development of paraprofessionalism in Syracuse; therefore, a separate section is being devoted to this influence. The impact may not be as great as one might expect, considering that federal funds passed through state bureaus have almost entirely supported the paraprofessionals. While the outside funds have permitted the development of the innovation, they have not necessarily guided that development. The interorganizational climate of grant application regulations, mandates, and oversight must be described in order to explain the effect of outside agencies on paraprofessionals.

New York State

There is a great deal that could be said about the politics and administration of educational policy in New York State which only indirectly bears on this case.[69] The influence of state government on local educational agencies, through the governor, the legislature, the courts, and the State Education Department, is pervasive. Local educational agencies are creatures of the state, provided for by Article XI of the State Constitution and statutes going back to 1812.[70] Known as the Education Law (part of the Consolidated Laws), these statutes outline the power of the State Commissioner of Education; the structure, organization, powers, and duties of local school districts; and the programs of state aid to school districts. Other parts of the Consolidated Laws affect local educational finance, including the ability to incur debt, levy taxes, and provide retirement systems.

Educational financial policy is in a condition of turmoil at present. A state commission has recommended total state assumption of all local school finance, and state courts have ordered an end to the property tax as a source of revenue. Major change has not yet occurred, however, and local educational agencies still rely on property taxes for about half of their revenues, with the state supplying about 40 percent. Most of the state aid is parceled out through complex formulas based on local tax assessments, district size, and organization. The state aid is used for the general operation of local educational agencies and six other categories, including transportation and building construction. Over half of all state aid (about $3 billion in 1975) goes to education.[71]

The state's role in education is managed by the largest agency in Albany: the State Education Department (SED).[72] SED had close to 4000 employees in the early 1970s, a number greater than the staff of the U. S. Office of Education and second only to California. It is more autonomous than other state agencies in that it is not influenced directly by the governor but by a board of regents who are elected by the legislature for fifteen-year terms. The commissioner of education is selected by the board of regents. The commissioner, acting under the regents, has sweeping authority over education and the licensed professions in the state. Although the governor and the legislature have had an increasing influence on broad educational policy issues, especially those launching new state mandates requiring hefty state funding, SED oversees the details. SED has had a long history of strong involvement in such areas as curriculum and teachers' certification, as well as in categorical programs such as transportation, vocational education, and integration. Thus, when large-scale federal involvement in education began, New York already had a large bureaucracy which was only marginally affected by the new federal programs.

Despite this power, according to Wirt, SED cooperates very closely with local educators because of the influence of a common spirit of professionalism.[73] The framework of decision-making in these circumstances is one of Albany serving as technician and local agencies having a degree of autonomy in administering state policies: policies developed in consultation with local educators.

Regarding the administration of new federal aid to education programs in the 1960s, SED was well-prepared. If the federal aim was to induce states to set educational priorities, relate resources to priorities through planning, and evaluate local compliance, the task was easy in New York because SED already performed these activities. Regarding Title I, specifically,[74] federal priorities were slow to be articulated; therefore, planning was slow to start in the late 1960s. Eventually, SED made its priorities known to local educational agencies through meetings, reports on exemplary programs, and project guidelines. The U. S. Office of Education grants Title I funds to New York State on the basis of a formula derived from indicators of need (low-income families, etc.), and SED disburses the aid to local educational agencies on the basis of total need in each county. About 70 percent of all Title I assistance has gone to New York City. If local applications do not meet SED priorities, they are not funded. Evaluation of local applications takes place in a two-stage process, with regional SED Title I offices processing applications first and then transmitting them to program specialists (e.g., remedial reading specialists) in Albany.

To summarize, state activities have influenced the local utilization of paraprofessionals in a number of ways:

(1) Through direct regulations regarding the certification of teachers' assistants;

(2) Indirectly, through broad state laws and regulations such as those governing unemployment insurance;

(3) Through state aid programs; and

(4) Through the state's administration of federal aid programs.

The first two types of influence were discussed earlier. SED regulations and memoranda on paraprofessionals are found in the appendix. Regarding aid programs, the state maintains a close surveillance of district activities in order to ensure that paraprofessionals are being utilized in accordance with funding requirments.[75] In the case of Title I, regional SED staff visits each program in the region at least once every two years to determine whether programs are operating in compliance with approved applications.[76] For example, individual student's records are examined for required pretests, diagnosis, prescriptions, and samples of work. Teachers are consulted. If such site visits reveal any abuses, SED issues a citation to the district requiring the district to correct the problem, usually within a semester. SED may later return with program specialists. If the condition persists, the regional staff has authority to halt all Title I aid to the district. However, this seldom occurs, at least partially because of the cooperative spirit of professionalism mentioned earlier.

The Federal Government

Aside from providing the funds that underwrite most of the costs of paraprofessional teachers in Syracuse, there appears to have been little direct influence on the local decision-making process on the part of federal agencies. This is not to say that the federal impact should be taken lightly. The current scope of paraprofessionalism in Syracuse and compensatory education in general would not be possible without federal funds. Regarding paraprofessionals, however, the federal funds have generally come with no strings attached, as long as the district remained within federal program requirements. None of the large-scale federal aid programs has either required or specifically regulated the use of paraprofessionals.[77] Aside from the COP program described earlier, federal educational authorities have been indifferent toward educational paraprofessionalism.

The federal role is thus less a question of what active influence has taken place and more a question of what might have been and the possible influence. Whether in the form of direct aid such as Title I or indirect aid such as CETA, aid to education is categorical aid. Federal policy-makers in Congress, the Office of Education, and other agencies set parameters on how much aid will be given, to whom, and for what purposes.

With respect to Title I, federal policy-makers did not attempt a rigorous administration in the early years.[78] In the spirit of the new federalism, it was left up to state educational agencies to carry out federal intent. In the 1970s, however, partly because of vast differences among state Title I efforts, federal control has stiffened.[79] First, the Division of Audits in HEW conducts periodic audits of Title I in states and local school districts. This bureau has the authority to declare audit exceptions on funds that auditors believe have been used in a manner inconsistent with federal regulations. Local districts can be made to return the funds, although there is a long appeal process. Second, the Office of Education annually monitors state and local Title I activity through on-site Management Team Reviews (MTRs). Although MTR recommendations are advisory, they carry weight, since audits may later support the recommendations.

The Syracuse City School District has hosted auditors and MTRs, but the paraprofessional program has never been affected.[80] Thus, the Special Programs Office has had a relatively free hand to develop and manage paraprofessionals. To be sure, federal policy-makers in the future could always take a more active stance regarding paraprofessionalism. Indeed, if the New York State Education Department begins to pressure local districts against the use of paraprofessionals, as was indicated earlier may occur, then federal action will be needed if paraprofessionalism is to be maintained.

Conclusions

This study has traced the development of a new career position in the Syracuse City School District: the paraprofessional teachers. Over a period of 15 years, the position grew, in terms of responsibilities, from one consisting of mostly clerical, helping duties to one of active interaction with students, parents, and teachers on an instructional level. The position also grew; in terms of its importance to the district's instructional program, from a relative handful of positions to about 400 positions, or fully one-third the number of teachers.

Two primary reasons account for this growth. First, the commitment at the national, state, and district level to compensatory education (at first in the midst of a teacher shortage) provided both need and ample resources for steady growth. Second, a powerful and skillful group of entrepreneurs at the district level, the Special Projects Office, guided the development of the position and protected it from organizational pressures. This support has maintained paraprofessionals in Syracuse at a time when the numbers of paraprofessional teachers at the national and state level are declining because of uncertain federal and state aid programs, declining student enrollments, and the surplus of teachers.

While it is true that the paraprofessional role is no longer considered innovative in Syracuse, the role is not a completely routinized one because paraprofessionals are still primarily associated with compensatory education. Since compensatory education is, for the most part, still dependent on federal and state assistance, the funding source for paraprofessionals remains in jeopardy. The future of paraprofessionals is thus tied to the future of compensatory education. Some paraprofessionals undoubtedly would still be supported if compensatory education programs ended, but most such positions would be abolished.

The questions raised at the beginning of this case study pertained to the characteristics and roles of paraprofessionals vis-à-vis professionals. Whether or not paraprofessionals will pose the same threats to democratic values that Mosher believes is the case with professionalism cannot easily be answered at present. An answer will be possible only when it is clear that the role of the paraprofessional teacher is self-sustaining and not dependent on special aid programs. However, the experience in Syracuse suggests that paraprofessionals can play a constructive role in educational organizations, actually providing a link between society and the teaching profession. To the extent that this is true, paraprofessionalism in education will have helped to reverse the pernicious trends cited by Mosher.

NOTES

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11. Interview with John House, New York State Education Department, December 7, 1978.

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19. Lary Johnson and R. W. Faunce, "Teacher Aides: A Developing Role," *The Elementary School Journal* (December 1973), p. 137.

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22. Ibid.

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24. Wilton Anderson, *et al*., "Career Development: The Lattice Recruitment, Training and Evaluation," *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Winter 1972), pp. 3ff.

25. Ibid.

26. Charles Tollett and Dan Tollett, "Teacher aide laws are a mess--and an invitation to legal troubles for school districts," *The American School Board Journal* (June 1974), pp. 29-32.

27. Frank Reissman, "Can Schools Teach Children? What Is Stopping Them--What Is To Be Done?" *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Winter 1972), pp. 83 ff. John House of the New York State Title I office commented to the author that Reissman's view was one from a *national* perspective. Specific, local circumstances might not conform to the Reissman view. In New York State, for example, state edducation officials have always believed in the success of the Title I program in their state. *See also*, National Institute of Education, *The Effects of Services on Student Development*, Washington, 1977.

28. John H. Bloom, "The Potential of Teacher Aides in Instruction," *Education Forum*, Vol. 37, (January 1973), pp. 195-99.

29. Frank Reissman and Alan Gurtner, "Paraprofessionals: The Effect on Children's Learning," *Urban Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 101.

30. Nancy Falk, ed., *A Study of the Utilization of Paraprofessionals Trained Under the Career Opportunities Program* (St. Paul: Minnesota State Department of Education, February 1975).

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[illegible]3. Interview with John House, New York State Department of Education, December 7, 1978.

34. W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1977-78 edition (Washington, DC: National Center for Education, USGPO, 1978).

35. Mary A. Golladay, *The Condition of Education*, 1977 edition (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, USGPO, 1977), p. 33.

36. Ibid., p. 30.

37. "Mayor Rejects Teachers' Contract, Calling Economic Gains Excessive," *New York Times*, January 5, 1979, p. 1.

38. Golladay, *op*. *cit*., p. 35.

39. Interview with John House, New York State Department of Education, December 7, 1978.

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41. Law v. Nichols, as cited in Marilyn R. Seyman, *Research and Analysis of Competencies Needed by the Bilingual Teacher Aide*, a report to the Arizona Department of Education by Mesa Community College.

42. Bloom, *op*. *cit*. Essentially the same argument is made by John Lombardi in "The Next Ten Years," a paper presented at the Spring Seminar Program of the Association of Community College Teachers, Annaheim, CA, April 1974.

43. Interview with Harrison Woods, associate manager, Region II Office, New York State Education Department, October 30, 1978.

44. "Laboratory for Change: The Madison Area Project," a report to the Ford Foundation by the Syracuse City School District, October 1964, p. 5.

45. New York State Division of the Budget, *New York State Statistical Yearbook, 1974*.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 7.

48. The other two components concentrated on employment and community services.

49. Interview with Harry S. Balmer, December 6, 1978.

50. Interview with Pasquale Leo, Planning and Evaluation Division, Syracuse City School District, October 12, 1978.

51. Interview with Lillian Feldman, October 16, 1978.

52. Interview with Donald M. Lammers, associate director, Planning and Evaluation Division, Syracuse City School District, Dec. 6, 1978.

53. Interview with Pasquale Leo, December 15, 1978.

54. Interview with Donald Lammers, _op_. _cit_., and with Jane Damiano, teaching assistant, Elmwood School, December 12, 1978.

55. Interview with Donald Lammers, _op_. _cit_.

56. Interview with Jane Damiano, _op_. _cit_.

57. Interview with Donald Lammers, _op_. _cit_.

58. Interview with H. Thomas Clift, director, Education for Children with Handicapping Conditions, Syracuse City School District, October 30, 1978.

59. See Marguerite Beardsley, "Residual Effects of the Campus Plan in Syracuse, New York: 1966-1978," Section G, this volume, pp.9-11.

60. Interview with Harry S. Balmer, _op_. _cit_. This matter did not concern paraprofessionals.

61. As mentioned earlier, the director was the education director of the Syracuse Action for Youth and only the second director of the Special Programs Office. Two other supervisors, Robert Cullivan and Lillian Feldman, also served on the Madison Area Project. Donald Lammers, Assistant to the director, and Pasquale Leo, a paraprofessional supervisor, joined the staff shortly after the start of Title I.

62. Interview with Pasquale Leo, _op_. _cit_., and with Lillian Feldman, _op_. _cit_.

63. Interview with Lillian Feldman, _op_. _cit_.

64. Interview with H. Thomas Clift, _op_. _cit_.

65. Interview with Jane Damiano, _op_. _cit_. This closing would not be

an isolated incident, but would be part of a citywide plan involving all schools in the Southwest Quadrant.

66. Interview with Richard A. Kassman, executive director, Syracuse Teachers Association, October 18, 1978. The contract with this provision expires in 1979, and STA will request that this provision be extended for the next contract to be negotiated in 1979.

67. Interview with Donald Lammers, op. cit.

68. Interview with Lillian Feldman, op. cit.

69. Two summaries that describe educational policy in New York State through the early 1970s are: Frederick M. Wirt, "The Politics of Federal Aid to Education in New York," in Joel S. Berke and Michael W. Kirst, eds., Federal Aid to Education (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1972), ch. 8; and Michael D. Usdan, "Elementary and Secondary Education," in Robert H. Connery and Gerald Benjamin, eds., Governing New York State: The Rockefeller Years (New York, NY: The Academy of Political Science, 1974), pp. 225-38.

70. State of New York, Department of State, Local Government Handbook (Albany, NY, 1976), chapters IV, IX, and XI.

71. Ibid., p. 207.

72. The following discussion is from Wirt, op. cit.

73. Ibid., pp. 345-46.

74. A full and detailed description of Title I administration is beyond the scope of this case. For example, there were difficult problems with planning and evaluation in New York City. There have been political controversies regarding allocation formulas. The entire process of developing a planning and evaluation apparatus at the state level and the resulting tensions between localities and Albany are a complicated story. The reader is referred to Wirt, op. cit.

75. This observation pertains especially to Title I.

76. Interview with Harrison Woods, op. cit.

77. Of course, this is with the exception of the Career Opportunity Program in which Syracuse did participate.

78. A comprehensive study of compensatory education requested by Congress has recently been completed by the National Institute of Education and contractors. See National Institute of Education, Compensatory Education Study (Washington, DC: National Institute of Education, USDHEW, September 1978); National Institute of Education, Administration of Compensatory Education (September 1977); and

and Robert J. Goettel, et al., A Comparative Analysis of ESEA, Title I Administration in Eight States. Report to the National Institute of Education by the Syracuse Research Corporation, October 1977.

79. Goettel, et al., op. cit., ch. 8, "Federal/State Interactions in Title I Administration."

80. Interview with Pasquale Leo, op. cit.

APPENDIX

SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

ENROLLMENT BY YEAR

1928	34,310	1955	28,244
1929	34,771	1956	29,098
1930	35,643	1957	28,399
1931	36,689	1958	30,313
1932	36,798	1959	29,776
1933	37,339	1960	30,289
1934	37,033	1961	30,830
1935	36,386	1962	31,225
1936	35,353	1963	31,016
1937	34,493	1964	30,683
1938	33,894	1965	30,356
1939	32,542	1966	29,694
1940	31,593	1967	30,885
1941	29,985	1968	30,433
1942	28,882	1969	29,905
1943	28,244	1970	29,363
1944	27,624	1971	28,600
1945	26,290	1972	27,370
1946	26,867	1973	26,715
1947	26,200	1974	26,314
1948	25,655	1975	26,492
1949	25,347	1976	25,343
1950	25,026	1977	23,818
1951	25,579	1978	22,777
1952	26,419	1979	21,539 est
1953	27,289	1980	20,599 est
1954	27,647	1981	

Special Projects
Syracuse School District

AIDES IN THE PRE-KINDERGARTEN PROGRAM

Basic Philosophy:

Aides have been selected from among the residents in the inner-city because of their special understanding of the culture of the area. The following qualities were considered: acceptance of children, rapport with adults, basic intelligence, emotional maturity, and reliability. The aides will divide their time between the school and the home. The professional staff carries the basic responsibility for the on-going program. However, teachers and aides work side-by-side in providing a suitable school environment for the children.

Responsibilities Within the Classroom:

1) To assist the teacher in planning and conducting a well-rounded pre-school educational program.
2) To participate fully in all aspects of the daily program: language experiences, work and play periods, cleanup, music, rest, storytime, lunch, and field trips.
3) To participate in an on-going in-service training program.

Responsibilities Outside the Classroom:

1) To recruit the children of pre-school age (3-5 years) and register them for the program. A door-to-door canvas will be made when necessary.
2) To interpret the goals of the school to the parents, and elicit their full participation.
3) To check on absences and tardiness and give direct assistance to the parents in getting the children to and from school, when the parent needs this additional support.
4) To assist families in coping with minor family problems, under the direct supervision of the pre-kindergarten social worker. More difficult problems will be referred to the social worker for follow-up.
5) To attend parent meetings as scheduled.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12224

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER FOR
ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY
AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

October 1, 1973

TO: City, Village, Community School District
and District Superintendents
Supervising Principals
Title I, ESEA Coordinators
Directors of Urban Education
Diocesan Superintendents
Regional Planning Directors
New York State Division for Youth

FROM: Thomas D. Sheldon

SUBJECT: Paraprofessionals and Compensatory Education

The Department's priorities for compensatory education are reading, mathematics, and bilingual education, where appropriate. These priorities were established in order to focus on the educational needs of educationally disadvantaged pupils and to improve academic basic skills. Compensatory education funds, particularly Title I, ESEA and Urban Education, are to be used for programs which are supplementary to the base programs implemented by the school district. The use of Title I, ESEA and Urban Education funds to provide such supplemental programs must be in accordance with the Federal and State regulations and guidelines. Since there are not sufficient funds either from Title I, ESEA or Urban Education to meet the needs of all of the eligible educationally disadvantaged pupils, it is essential that school districts assess the needs of the educationally disadvantaged pupils and provide a variety of services for them in order to bring about the objective of improved academic basic skills.

Only projects containing specific activities which impinge upon instructional experiences designed to alleviate deficiencies in the basic skills of reading, mathematics, and bilingual education will be approved for funding. When supportive services are utilized, they must be designed to complement specifically the basic skills program. The school district's determination to use paraprofessionals is supported by the Department. However, their functions must be related to instructional activities impinging upon the three priorities of reading, mathematics, and bilingual education, and the functions must be identified with the objectives of the priorities. Although services of a social service nature may be desirable, they are the functions of other agencies or other resources.

The use of paraprofessionals must be placed in context as part of the total management system of compensatory education programs. Supervision must be clearly delineated; evaluation of the services of the paraprofessionals in their instructionally related activities must be an integral part of the planning of the program. Inservice education is essential.

For the purposes of Urban Education and Title I, ESEA, the following functions of paraprofessionals not only are governed by the education law, federal, state and local rules and regulations, but also by the requirements to adhere to the priorities of reading, mathematics, and bilingual education and to the management principles enunciated herein. The functions are described in terms of acceptable locale for each service: in-school or home. For each such service performed, the paraprofessional should have the necessary skill acquired by training or experience.

	Service Locale	
	In-School	Home
1. Direct Services to the Instruction of Project Participants		
a. Managing records, materials, and equipment	x	
b. Attending to the physical needs of participants	x	
c. Supervising participants and performing such other services as support teaching duties when such services are determined and supervised by teachers, including tutoring and homework helping	x	x
d. Working with individual pupils or groups of pupils on special instructional projects	x	
e. Providing the teacher with information about participants which will assist the teacher in the development of appropriate learning experiences	x	
f. Assisting participants in the use of available instructional resources and assisting in the development of instructional materials, including translation and cultural information	x	

1. (Continued)	Service Locale	
	In-School	Home
g. Utilizing their own special skills and abilities by assisting in instructional programs in bilingual education, mathematics, and reading	x	
h. Providing management assistance to the teacher on neighborhood field trips	x	
i. Performs instructional assistance in bilingual education programs, including transitional process for non-English speaking participants	x	
2. Supportive Services to the Instruction of Project Participants		
a. Acts as foreign language interpreter and translator among the professional staff, parents, and pupils during individual parent/pupil/teacher conference. Acts in conveying information between parents and the school	x	x
b. Provides information to parents of participants to meet needs of participants and about the project activities	x	x
c. Provides information to staff to assist in pupil registration and placement	x	
d. Helps conduct needs assessment relative to eligible pupils in the participant selection process	x	
e. Participates in parent workshops under the direct supervision of the professional staff	x	
f. In coordination with regular attendance programs and under professional supervision visits home of project participants to ascertain causes of absences and, as appropriate, escorts pupils back to school, having a follow-up with teachers and supervisors as the case may be.		x

The important point is that the activities of paraprofessionals are related to the instruction and impinge upon the priorities.

When it is known that pupils will have long-term absences for any length of time, consideration should be given to providing home instruction which is covered in the Commissioner's Regulations, Section 200.4, paragraph (3).

Paraprofessionals can assist immeasurably in providing assistance to teachers, pupils, and parents as efforts are implemented to improve the basic skills of the target population of educationally disadvantaged pupils.

If there are any questions about this policy, contact the Division of Education for the Disadvantaged (Title I, ESEA) (518) 474-1112 for New York City; (518) 474-1231 for Upstate and the Division of Urban Education (518) 474-1321.

Source: Title 8 of the Official Compilation Codes, Rules and Regulations of the State of New York

(c) Substitution: One year of paid, full-time, appropriate library or teaching experience on the level for which certification is sought may be accepted in lieu of the college supervised student teaching but only when such experience carries the recommendation of the employing school district administrator.

80.33 Supplementary school personnel (Effective February 1, 1971)

(a) Teacher aide.

(1) A teacher aide may be assigned by the board of education to assist teachers in such non-teaching duties as:

(i) managing records, materials, and equipment

(ii) attending to the physical needs of children, and

(iii) supervising students and performing such other services as support teaching duties when such services are determined and supervised by teachers.

(b) Teaching assistant.

(1) Description: A teaching assistant is appointed by a board of education to provide, under the general supervision of a licensed or certified teacher, direct instructional service to students.

(2) Duties: Teaching assistants assist teachers by performing duties such as:

(i) working with individual pupils or groups of pupils on special instructional projects;

(ii) providing the teacher with information about pupils which will assist the teacher in the development of appropriate learning experiences;

(iii) assisting pupils in the use of available instructional resources, and assisting in the development of instructional materials;

(iv) utilizing their own special skills and abilities by assisting in instructional programs in such areas as: foreign languages, arts, crafts, music, and similar subjects; and

(v) assisting in related instructional work as required.

(3) License or certificate required. Any person employed as a teaching assistant shall hold one of the following credentials:

(i) Temporary license: Upon application of a superintendent of schools a temporary license as a teaching assistant may be issued to a person having the qualifications defined in (a) below

(a) Preparation: The candidate shall have completed a four-year high school program or its equivalent. Such study shall be supplemented by training and experience appropriate to the position in question.

(b) The application for this license shall be filed on forms prescribed by the Commissioner and shall include the following information: the name and address of the candidate; the candidate's education, related teaching; administrative and/or supervisory experience; occupational and/or practical experience; and other unusual qualifications; a description of the teaching assistant's duties; a description of how the teaching assistant will be supervised; a description of the employing school district's in-service training program for teaching assistants and the professional staff utilizing such personnel and a description of the district's plan for using teaching assistants.

(c) Time validity. The temporary license shall be valid for one year from date of issuance. No more than two temporary licenses may be issued to the same individual.

(ii) Continuing certificate. Upon application of a superintendent of schools a continuing certificate as a teaching assistant may be issued to a person having the qualifications defined in (a) below:

(a) Preparation. The candidate shall have completed six semester hours of appropriate collegiate study in or related to the field of elementary and/or secondary school service at a regionally accredited institution of higher education or at an institution approved by the Department. The Commissioner may approve alternative preparation as required in this paragraph.

(b) Experience. The candidate shall have completed one year of experience as a licensed teaching assistant or as a certified teacher in an approved school.

(c) Time validity. The continuing certificate shall be valid continuously, except when the holder thereof has not been regularly employed as a teaching assistant in the public schools of New York for a period of five consecutive years, in which case the validity of the certificate shall lapse.

(c) Visiting lecturer.

(1) Upon application of a superintendent of schools a temporary license as visiting lecturer may be issued to a person having unusual qualifications in a specific subject to supplement the regular program of instruction.

(2) The request shall be submitted on forms prescribed by the Commissioner and shall include the following information:

(i) the name and address of the candidate;

(ii) the specific subject for which the license is to be issued;

(iii) the institutions attended by the candidate, major subject field, degrees or number of semester hours earned, and dates of degrees;

INSTRUCTIONAL COMPONENT 2C READING

(1) THE FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF THE INSTRUCTIONAL PERSONNEL IN THE COMPONENT (PROFESSIONAL AND PARA PROFESSIONAL)

(a) EDUCATIONAL AIDES (PARAPROFESSIONALS)

The educational aides will implement supplemental tutorial reading curriculum while instructing the students in developmental reading skills appropriate to each child's level. In carrying out a diagnostic and remedial reading program, the educational aides will provide the selected children in need of reaching help with a variety of small group and individualized reading activities designed to focus attention on an individual student needs. Whenever possible, the aides will employ a multi-media approach in conjunction with the small group and individualized reading and writing activities. The student activities include: reading and writing activities on their appropriate instructional level, phonics and structural analysis activities, reading comprehension activities, vocabulary development activities and participation in other reading related activities. In addition, the educational aides will develop lessons to meet the needs of the individual student, administer appropriate tests for diagnosing, prescribing and evaluating student programs, keep and maintain individual student records, and be responsible for submitting any and all reports which may be necessary to carry out the objectives and evaluation of the component.

In providing the supplemental reading instruction, the educational aides will work under the direction of the assigned classroom teacher, either inside or outside the classroom. To ensure that all aides are consistently knowledgeable concerning their role, function, skill competencies, reporting procedures, materials development and other pertinent information, each aide will be required to attend all in-service sessions during the course of the program. These sessions will consist of five (5) 6-1/2 hour work sessions.

(d) KINDS OF RECORDS MAINTAINED FOR EACH PARTICIPANT

Educational aides will maintain appropriate records for each participant in the ESEA Title I Elementary Reading Assistance Program (1-6). Student folders will be maintained by each educational aide for each student enrolled in the ESEA Title I Elementary Reading Assistance Program (1-6). Each folder will include: (1) pre- and post-test scores for each participant, (2) attendance records of the number of sessions attended by each participant, (3) skill lists of student progress and achievement, (4) samples of classroom work of each participant, and (5) a supplementary instructional plan for each participant enrolled in the program (includes disgnostic and prescriptive plan).

1.e. KINDS OF RECORDS MAINTAINED FOR EACH PARTICIPANT

The ESEA Title I supplementary kindergarten aides assigned to Title I schools will maintain on-going records for each child enrolled in the program. Individual folders will include the Boehm Test of Basic Concepts, attendance records, samples of child's classroom work, and a supplementary plan for each child.

2. STAFF

a. INSTRUCTIONAL

(1) Functions and Duties of the Instructional Personnel in the Program (Professional and Paraprofessional)

Each educational aide will receive in-service training throughout the year on philosophy, organization, and implementation of classroom and home teaching techniques from the instructional specialist, Early Childhood Resource Center, and others working in early childhood.

Paraprofessionals (Title I) will work with the teachers in offering individual and small-group instruction to the kindergarten children (80% of the time). The paraprofessionals will work in the homes with each child and parent utilizing the resources of Toy Lending Library of Materials.

...

Each educational aide will make observations of children learning and discuss needs of children with teachers to insure consistent progress and effective individualized planning.

...

Each educational aide will give guidance individually and in small groups to children working with skill-oriented and other kindergarten materials.

. . .

Each educational aide will visit homes 20% of the time to work with child and parent, leaving appropriate books and games from Kindergarten Lending Library to encourage follow-up learning in home.

. . .

Children identified through Boehm Test of Basic Concepts, who are in need of supplemental assistance are provided help by the educational aides assigned to this component. Each Title I educational aide will provide individualized activities each day for children with whom he/she is working. Each child will spend his/her time in language experiences, mathematics experiences, and perceptual development. The child continues to receive his/her regular classroom program at the kindergarten level.

Each child will be involved in individualized activities for one hour in the day. These activities will be selected by the child in an open classroom setting, or an adult may invite the child to work with him on a prescribed task.

2. STAFF (continued)

a. INSTRUCTIONAL

(1) continued

Each child will be involved in small-group activities for one hour in the day. Groups will be formed by the children themselves or by invitation of the adult teaching staff.

The observations of the parents, teachers, principals, the recommendations of the Title I Advisory Committees, the highly significant results of the standardized testing, all attest to the value of this program. The early identification of children with possible learning difficulties, and focusing on providing individualized assistance to child and parent are the essential ingredients for success.

(2) Coordination of Title I Staff with Teachers

Each educational aide works closely with one classroom teacher to insure the competent delivery of services within the school setting and in the home.

b. SUPERVISION

The educational aides in this component will be jointly supervised by the principals of Title I schools and the administrative staff of Special Programs and Evaluation. Yearly evaluations of the educational aides will be performed.

c. SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

Identified children are given special individual attention by the Title I educational aides and the volunteers. Home teaching focuses on the parents of the child. Supportive services (psychologist, social worker) give priority to this child in apportioning their time. The teacher is always aware of each stage of the child's development through her observations and recordkeeping, and guides him skillfully to the next stage.

G

RESIDUAL EFFECTS OF THE CAMPUS PLAN IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK: 1966-1978

by

Marguerite A. Beardsley

(Footnotes on p. G-25)

RESIDUAL EFFECTS OF

THE CAMPUS PLAN IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK: 1966-1978

The Campus Plan in Syracuse was a comprehensive package of technological and programmatic innovations as well as major changes in the physical organization of educational services in the City of Syracuse. From its inception in 1966 to its demise in 1970, Campus Plan design, advocacy, and opposition dominated Syracuse public education.

Similar in design to an educational park, a much discussed innovation at the time, the Campus Plan was designed with three major goals in mind: to stimulate racial integration; to improve instruction on the elementary level; and to solve the problem of deteriorating physical plants. In 1963, the Commissioner of the New York State Department of Education ordered all New York State school districts to present plans to eradicate racial imbalance. The city made some efforts toward this end, but the development of the Campus Plan was viewed by educators and others as a long-term, conclusive solution to racial imbalance in the district. By 1966, when the Campus Plan was in its early stages of development, "eight elementary school buildings in Syracuse were over fifty years old, and twenty-seven were over thirty-five years."[1] Capital investment in new facilities seemed necessary.

Because of a need to act on issues of integration and new facilities, Syracuse educators were presented with an opportunity to review the instructional program of the elementary schools and to consider some of the innovations that were being so widely discussed among educators on the national level as well as the local level. The response to this opportunity was the Campus Plan, which offered innovation in instruction and school design.

The educational park proposal for Syracuse centered around four campus sites designed to serve kindergarten through sixth grade. Each campus would house up to eight, 540-pupil schools. Each school would be connected to a core building designed to contain specialized facilities and services such as physical education, a large auditorium an audio-visual center, a library, and a computer. Every two schools would share a cafeteria, a small auditorium, and other facilities. The campus sites were planned to be large enough to accommodate outside education and recreation. The construction of all four campuses was planned to occur over a twenty-year period, and existing schools were to be closed in order of obsolescence.[2]

Early versions of the Campus Plan placed emphasis on the physical facilities and organization of an educational park. Through the work of educators and consultants, details of an innovative instructional program to accompany the building program were added to the plan in 1968.

The major thrust of the curriculum changes proposed in the plan was toward individualized learning. Individualized learning was to be implemented through individually prescribed instruction; team teaching and planning; learning centers designed with flexible space; the use of teacher aides and assistants; and extensive use of instructional games, devices, and audio-visual equipment.

Perhaps the most innovative feature of the plan for implementation of individualized instruction was a computer system "capable of storing, processing, and retrieving large volumes of information as an integral part of the daily instructional process."[3] The sophisticated computer system was regarded as essential to the success of large-scale, individualized instruction. Through the use of data accumulated in storage banks, teachers would be able to review and evaluate the performance and progress of individual pupils. Plans for the installation of hook-ups that would enable the future addition of the even more advanced computer-assisted instruction were recommended. Secondary uses of the computer system included standard information processing such as attendance, report cards, and scheduling. A 1968 report to the Board of Education described individualized learning as "highly dependent on a wide range of versatile and responsive facilities and resources."[4]

The Campus Plan, with its flexible-space buildings, technological innovations, new approaches to team teaching, utilization of paraprofessionals, and learning centers was designed to provide just the type of "versatile and responsive facilities and resources" desired by educators to implement the new approach to elementary education in the city.

Adoption of the Campus Plan as the "basic policy for future elementary school development"[5] would have meant a significant change in elementary education in the city. Its physical characteristics would have meant racial balance of the city school system, the location of all elementary pupils at four sites in the city, and the abandonment of the long-established concept of the neighborhood school. Its curriculum and technological features would have required parents, teachers, and pupils to become accustomed to an entirely new approach to the education of elementary children. Such a discontinuous change in a service area, which was of concern to a wide number of citizens, was bound to create debate and controversy.

Although the design and advocacy of the Campus Plan was the result of the combined efforts of the school district staff, the board of education, teachers, concerned citizens, and educational consultants, the primary advocate of the plan through the years of its consideration was Superintendent of Schools Franklin S. Barry. "From the beginning, the Campus Plan was closely identified with Barry."[6]

However, for successful adoption of an innovation as far-reaching as the Campus Plan, the support of the educational bureaucracy would not be sufficient. Before the plan could be implemented, it had to be approved by the board of education, the Syracuse Common Council (for bonding), and the City Board of Estimate.[7] Ultimately, it was most important that the plan be approved by the citizens of the city. Without widespread general support for the plan, it was unlikely that such a major change in education could be achieved.

Design of the Campus Plan

Design of the Campus Plan began early in 1966 through a series of memoranda and research reports to the superintendent from the district's director of research, David S. Sine. Early versions of the plan emphasized the physical-plant aspects of an educational park. On the basis of discussions of the plan with the board of education, the Syracuse Common Council, the mayor, and other groups, support for the proposal grew. In July 1966, the board voted to sponsor a study of the proposal. A Campus Site Planning Center, outside the regular facilities of the district, was created for this purpose. However, David Sine was appointed its director, and the center was staffed by district personnel.[8]

A few months later, a Professional Advisory Committee (PAC) to the Campus Site Planning Center was appointed by the superintendent. This committee was composed of some members of the district staff, as well as other professional educators from the Syracuse area. The third group to participate in the study conducted by the center was a Citizens' Advisory Committee (CAC) appointed by the Board of Education. CAC was composed of a former school board president and other prominent civic leaders. CAC was not expected to "endorse, condemn, or otherwise make recommendations" on the Campus Plan.[9] Its role was that of advisor to the staff of the center. In addition to the center's staff, PAC, and CAC, a number of educational consultants with specialization in such areas as transportation and curriculum worked on the study.

The work of the center was funded by surplus funds allocated by the board, a grant from a local charitable foundation, and a grant from the U. S. Office of Education made under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. With the addition of a grant from the Ford Foundation, total funding for the study amounted to $110,000.[10]

On July 18, 1967, the center released its report, which presented a proposal to construct the first of four educational parks. It recommended that the first campus be located in the southeastern quadrant of the city. The report, known as the Orange Report (for the color of its cover), discussed the proposed physical facilities, curriculum, technological innovations, and projected costs of the plan in general terms. Cost estimates for the first campus were placed at $14,141,775. According to the report, this figure was about $25,000 less than the estimated cost of replacing existing neighborhood schools in the quadrant.[11]

In January 1968, the superintendent announced plans for another study of the Campus Plan. The Orange Report had been fairly well-received, although opposition to the plan was developing and a minority report, written by a member of CAC (who was subsequently elected to the Board of Education), was highly critical of the educational park approach. The purpose of the second study was to develop the educational program in detail, answer questions about teacher training and utilization, and clarify transportation needs of the plan.[12] The study was funded by a grant from the federal government under Title III. The district sought special expertise in the preparation of the study. A number of staff members from the federally-financed Eastern Regional Institute for Education (ERIE) were assigned to help design the educational program for the Campus Plan.

In February 1968, there was a conference that was attended by approximately 40 educators from the school district, the parochial school system, ERIE, and Syracuse University. The purpose of this conference was to discuss innovation in education in general and which of the new approaches should be made a part of the Campus Plan.[13] The result of the conference and the later participation by members of the school board and additional consultants was the release of a report known as the Green Report (again, for the color of its cover). It was designed as a supplement to the original Orange Report. The emphasis in the Green Report was on innovative approaches in education that could lead to more quality education for the city if implemented through the Campus Plan.[14]

The Green Report defined and described the concept of individualized learning. The physical characteristics of the buildings on the campus site were used to facilitate the implementation of individualized learning. Flexible use of space and the creation of specialized learning centers were viewed as essential to the success of an individualized approach. Instructional teams, composed of teachers and paraprofessional aides, were to provide appropriate staff for the learning centers. Equipment and materials necessary for each learning center (designed to accommodate about 100 pupils) were spelled out. They included:

- educational and closed-circuit television receivers;
- filmstrip, slides, film, and overhead projectors;
- tape recorders, radio, and phonographs;
- demonstration and display equipment and materials;
- small collections of reference media, pictures, and reading books; and
- instructional and self-instructional games and devices.[15]

The learning activities for the children were to take place primarily in the learning centers. In addition, students were to benefit from facilities used in common with other learning centers. These facilities included:

- multi-purpose areas (e.g., cafeteria, auditorium, and gymnasium);
- subject centers(e.g., art studio, music room, science laboratory, etc.);
- sub-library and media centers; and
- computer-based learning centers.[16]

The Green Report established that the Campus Plan was more than a design for the building of new school facilities. It made clear that the plan was designed as a comprehensive educational program for elementary students and its adoption would mean the adoption of a significant number of educational innovations in the City of Syracuse. The publication of this report did not signal the end of the study of the Campus Plan. Through the months of study of the proposal, opposition to the plan had steadily grown. Increasingly, opposition to the plan centered on questions of its cost to the district. The board decided to study the plan again, this time with an emphasis on its financial implications.

A special grant was received from the Office of Education, and a study was conducted, primarily by ERIE with the assistance of Dr. Maurice Osborne, a fiscal analyst and retired New York State Assistant Commissioner for Educational Finance Management.[17] On October 9, 1968, the report, prepared by Osborne and ERIE and known as the White Report, was released. It discussed the financial implications of the plan, taking into account possible sources of state aid, as well as local resources;[18] but it did not mention potential funding by the federal government or foundation sources.[19] Total capital costs of the first campus were estimated at about $19,500,000. The approximate $5 million increase over estimates in the Orange Report were attributed primarily to the increase in construction costs since 1967. Operating costs for personnel alone were estimated to be up to $1 million per year greater than those in the schools to be replaced. Audio-visual equipment maintenance was estimated at approximately $50,000 per year. The innovative computer system, described in the report as essential to conducting large-scale, individualized instruction, would be purchased at a cost of $1,403,250.[20] In November 1969, a brochure that summarized the three reports on the Campus Plan was widely distributed.[21] According to a study of the Campus Plan by the Syracuse Research Corporation in 1977 concerning this brochure:

> It noted the capital costs and compared them with costs of replacing five old schools with five new separate schools having facilities similar to those in the Campus Plan. The new schools, with the equipment included, would cost $1.4 million more than the Campus Plan itself. It speculated that state aid would amount to approximately $4.7 million for capital costs and that further financial assistance from the federal government and foundations was probable.[22]

Educators, consultants, members of the board, and others had worked to develop the plan over a two-year period. The question remained as to whether the community would accept the Campus Plan as the blueprint for the future of elementary education in Syracuse.

Pursuit of Adoption of the Campus Plan

From its inception, the Campus Plan was enthusiastically supported by the superintendent and most of the district teachers and staff. Community and local media interest was expressed early in the development of the plan, but with less enthusiasm and more caution and reservation. As the plan progressed through the series of studies and refinements, however, opposition to it grew. As early as April 1966, George C. Shattuck, a local attorney and member of CAC, expressed reservations. The following year, Shattuck was elected to the board of education. Major aspects of his campaign included opposition to the Campus Plan. In the same election, Armand Magnarelli, another opponent, was also elected to the board. In the local media, mild encouragement of the plan gave way to increased criticism during 1968. By the end of that year, the issue had developed into a community-wide controversy, with proponents and opponents seeking forums for their viewpoints. "The press reported over 40 meetings where local organizations discussed the plan after November 1, 1968."[23]

Opposition to the plan was reasonably widespread, although it centered primarily in the northern section of the city where the first campus was to be located. This site was a change from the recommendation of the Orange Report that the location be in the generally recognized liberal portion of the community, near Syracuse University. The change was made because most of the schools to be closed were located on the north side of the city.

It is interesting to note that a majority of the community organizations taking a stand on the issue such as the League of Women Voters, the Urban League, and the Chamber of Commerce favored implementation of the plan. Opponents were, in general, less formally organized than were proponents. The major arguments against the plan can be summarized as follows:

- the plan was too expensive;
- neighborhood schools should not be abandoned;
- the plan was too large and required too much busing;
- the technological features of the plan were too expensive and also unnecessary for the pursuit of quality education;
- existing buildings could be renovated at a reasonable cost;
- computers would replace teachers, and education would become impersonal;
- children would be too far from their homes; and
- community participation in school matters would decrease.

The issue of racial imbalance was not openly discussed during the debate, despite the fact that one of the major goals of the Campus Plan was to provide a solution to the problems of racial imbalance in the district. Some proponents believed that resistance to racial integration was an important factor in creating opposition. Opponents denied that their opposition was linked to reluctance to pursue racial balance for the schools.

In January 1969, the plan suffered a severe set-back when the local newspapers (which share a common publisher) announced their opposition. An editorial expressed the views of many local citizens when it stated:

> We can only conclude that the grade school campus is not a solution for the city's educational problems . . . . Friends of the campus plan have practically killed it. In their eagerness to impose their experimental ideas on a reluctant community, they've broadcast grandoise claims that can't be fulfilled. We can't believe that an experimental upheaval in the school system will cure all of our social ills, develop each pupil's greatest potential, and save the City of Syracuse from a population loss.[24]

Demise of the Campus Plan

The board held a series of public hearings on the plan which were attended by over 300 persons. On January 28, 1969, the board met in special session to vote on resolutions presented by the superintendent. Three resolutions passed by a vote of four-to-two with one member absent. These resolutions essentially adopted the Green Report as the instructional plan for elementary education in the city, adopted the Campus Plan as the policy for future school construction, and established that the White Report would serve as a guide for financial planning. Other resolutions were approved unanimously. These directed the superintendent to seek sources of outside funding for the construction of the first campus and provided that bond resolution would not be sent to the common council for approval until some outside funding was assured. Thus, the board went on record in support of the plan, but was willing to implement it only under certain conditions.

The superintendent spent much time during the next year attempting to find sources of funding for construction of the first campus. Despite his efforts, he was unable to solicit concrete support from the federal government, state government, or foundations. The Campus Plan lost its most important advocate when the superintendent resigned in September 1969. After the 1970 elections, the new board had four members who actively opposed the plan. Discussion of the plan virtually ceased. "While education remained a viable and urgent public issue, it no longer centered on the Campus Plan."[25]

Reaction to the Demise of the Campus Plan

The Campus Plan had a lingering death. Its demise was recognized by different participants at different points in the process. Some held out hope until Superintendent Barry left the district; others had given up at a much earlier date. Because of the differences in perception regarding the complete demise of the Campus Plan, it appears that there were no organized or formal meetings held to discuss what direction to take next. Analysis of the defeat and its implications for the future were generally made on an individual basis. Some individuals left the district, while others stayed and turned their attention to new problems and old, recurring ones. District staff, who had worked so intensively for adoption of the Campus Plan, were described as experiencing a let down after its demise.[26] Particularly among those of the district staff who had been the most active in the design and advocacy of the plan, the feeling was generally unanimous that the plan had failed not because of objection to its curriculum and programs, but rather because of larger, political issues such as integration, destruction of neighborhood schools, and lack of citizens' participation in district planning and decision-making.

The designers of the plan had had a unique and valuable opportunity to put on paper many of the ideas and programs that were part of an internal wish-list that represented the most desired plans for the future of elementary education in the city. These program and curriculum innovations such as individualized instruction, the use of instructional specialists, media centers, team teaching, and team planning were viewed by many advocates as divisible from the total concept of the Campus Plan and deserving of efforts to seek their adoption in appropriate settings throughout the district. After a relatively brief period of inaction, or lag, those advocates of change who remained in the district began to consider ways to achieve adoption of certain innovations of the plan. Their perception that the plan had failed for political reasons led them to believe that adoption of individual innovations that came out of the design would not necessarily meet the same fate as the Campus Plan.

Changes in Administration and Organization Since the Campus Plan

The Syracuse City School District has had three superintendents since the resignation of Franklyn Barry in 1969. The style of the succeeding superintendents has varied. Edwin Weeks was appointed acting superintendent at the time that Franklyn Barry left the district. He had served as an assistant superintendent under Barry and was known as an excellent financial manager. Weeks was succeeded in July 1970 by John T. Gunning. Gunning was selected after a nationwide search process, but the general impression gained from interviews with the staff is that Gunning did not provide dynamic leadership to the district. Weeks served again after the departure of Gunning. Then, in October 1976, Sidney Johnson became the new superintendent.

At the time of the Campus Plan debate, Johnson was assistant supervisor in the business office. Later, he served as Director of Continuing Education and Secondary Education. He was deeply involved in the development of a career education program for the district. He left the district in 1973 to become superintendent of the Troy, New York, school district. In 1976, he was brought back to Syracuse to serve as the first Black superintendent in the history of the Syracuse City School District. Johnson's style is dynamic, and the staff attributes much of the success of the integration plan adopted in the district to his leadership ability and commitment to citizens' participation.

In the years since the Campus Plan debate, the district has experienced financial problems common to other urban districts. Declining school enrollment, rapidly increasing costs, and the more limited availability of federal and state funds have had an effect on the ability of the district to pursue new programs.

In the early 1970s, there was an emphasis placed on program supervision and instruction in the district. At that time, there were eight administrators/supervisors. Because of fiscal constraints, this number has been reduced to one administrator for secondary and elementary education and some part-time supervisors. It is important to note, however, that the primary cause of this radical reorganization was fiscal constraints. No jobs were lost as a result of the demise of the Campus Plan. Even the resignation of Barry was not viewed by the staff as a decision forced upon him. The general consensus appears to be that his decision to resign was a personal one, based on his perception of what he could contribute to the district in the future that hea had not already contributed. The board of education apparently genuinely regretted his decision.

Processes of Innovation in the Syracuse City School District

At the time of the design of the Campus Plan, the innovation process was more structured than it is today. The district has traditionally been known as one open to new ideas; but, in the past, with the larger administrative staff, the process of innovation was accomplished through more formal means such as committees and the use of consultants. Formerly, individuals worked as members of committees to develop innovative ideas into proposals that were then accepted by the board and the central administration for further development, adoption, and implementation. Today, innovations go through a process of adoption basically in one of two ways: building-initiated innovations and innovations initiated by the Special Programs group.

Teacher-initiated or building-initiated innovations have always been encouraged by the district. Individual elementary schools are able to seek innovations to solve particular problems or to create opportunities. A resource center, which can be described as a library of innovations, is available for the use of teachers seeking new approaches. Inservice training sessions for teachers also help to familiarize them with potential solutions to problems. In an attempt to reduce the range of instructional approaches so as not to confuse children who transfer from school to school, the district has put a limit on the number of basic approaches that may be used in the classroom. Beyond this limitation, teachers and principals are free to adopt those approaches or innovations most suited to their needs. Teachers and principals are also able to attend meetings, or fairs, held by the suppliers of educational materials. In this way, teachers are apprised of the latest in educational aides, and they recommend adoption of new approaches that are particularly interesting.

Opportunities for innovation by teachers in the school system are enhanced by a program made a part of the teachers' contractual agreement with the district: the Creative Instruction Mini Grant Program. Under this program, money is set aside to be used by teachers for innovative projects that require minimal amounts of supplies and materials. A committee of teachers and administrators reviews applications and awards small grants for worthwhile projects.[27] This program is an indicator of continued support and interest in innovation in the district on the part of teachers as well as the administrators.

In general, building-initiated innovations that are most likely to be implemented are those that do not require additional sources of funding. When state or federal grants are required to implement a project, the assignment of writing proposals and pursuing innovative opportunities is given to the Special Programs staff.

The Role of the Special Programs Group

At the time of the design and advocacy of the Campus Plan, the Syracuse City School District was organized along somewhat traditional lines, with the majority of administrative positions located under assistant superintendents for specific substantive areas such as elementary and secondary education. Since the time of the Campus Plan, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of persons employed in tasks outside the traditional administrative framework of the district. On the building level, this trend is reflected in a decrease in assistant-principal positions and an increase in the use of paraprofessionals, pupil services teams, and instructional specialists. On the administrative or nonbuilding level, there has been significant growth in the size and importance of the Special Programs group.

Special Programs is the term used to describe a group of about eighty persons whose activities are conducted in a separate building from the basic administration of the district. The Special Programs group monitors programs, writes proposals in attempts to secure federal and state funds, conducts the evaluation and assessment desired by the district and required by federal and state programs, and participates in planning for the district. It assists the superintendent and the board in implementing district policy such as designing the two magnet schools which are an integral part of the district's integration plan. In addition, Special Programs provides services to the district such as coordinating audio-visual equipment and use, providing a resource center for teachers, and administering special programs such as the Indian Education Center, the Pre-Kindergarten Program, and the English as a Second Language Program. The area coordinator for the National Diffusion Network is also located within the Special Programs group.

The growth of the Special Programs group can be attributed primarily to two factors. First, the financial problems of recent years caused the district to eliminate many traditional administrative positions formerly funded by the district. In each of the past four years, cuts of $1 million in the district budget have been required. Last year, six assistant-superintendent positions were eliminated.[28] Many Special Programs personnel are funded from state or federal grants rather than from district funds. Indeed, obtaining outside funding has become an extremely important priority in the district.

Projects obtained through successful attempts by the Special Programs group to attract state and federal funding are not viewed as frills by the administration of the district. For example, the magnet schools, the instructional specialists, and over 95 percent of the paraprofessional positions in the district have been made possible through federal or state grants. The district views the projects gained through proposals to federal or state sources as vitally important to maintaining and improving quality education in the Syracuse City School District. The superintendent has described Special Programs as "equal in priority to anything else we do."[29] The superintendent believes that the survival and growth of the district is dependent upon the validity of the programs and curriculum offered by the district. Special Programs is viewed as essential to this effort.

The second major factor in the growth of Special Programs has been the continually increasing ability and confidence of the Special Programs personnel. When the Campus Plan was designed, the district relied heavily on the use of educational consultants. The use of consultants today has dramatically decreased. Many of the staff who were questioned about the decline in the use of consultants first attributed the trend to a lack of money in the district. On second thought, however, staff members indicated that, even if the district had funds to hire consultants, use of this approach would still be infrequent.[30] One of the important residual effects of the Campus Plan experience was the development of in-district expertise. Although many of the district's personnel who worked on the plan have left the district, those who remain believe that the plan design provided them with a unique opportunity to enhance their own skills in program design and proposal preparation. District staff members indicated that it is easier, cheaper, and better to rely on local district personnel than on consultants. An additional factor is that many of the personnel in Special Programs have been with the district for many years. It was noted that "of the eighty or so people in this building, about forty of us have been together for ten years."[31] Several key Special Programs personnel played an active role in the Campus Plan, and their knowledge of the history of innovation in the district contributes to their ability to work well as a group.

There is some criticism of the growth of the role of Special Programs. It is not directed at the quality or nature of the work of Special Programs, but rather at what is perceived as an insufficient coordinated effort between the traditionally administrative structure of the district (excluding the superintendent) and Special Programs. The source of this problem (which does not appear to be a major one) seems to be in the continually changing and decreasing administrative structure of the district and in the restrictiveness of available federal and state sources of funds. For instance, the extremely flexible funds under Title III used for the design of the Campus Plan are no longer widely available. Funds under other programs such as Title I and the State Aid to Correct Racial Imbalance (SACRI) program must be directed in more specific ways for programs with specific goals and purposes. These realities force Special Programs to tailor proposals to meet funding-source requirements more than ideally might be desired. The general view, however, is that the role played by Special Programs is extremely important to the district and that interaction between Special Programs and other parts of the district is cordial and productive.

Campus Plan Innovation in the Absence of the Campus Plan

As previously described, advocates of the Campus Plan desired the adoption and implementation of its key innovations, even in the absence of the plan. As far as can be determined, no formal meetings or planning sessions were held to design a strategy to accomplish this task. When opportunities arose where Campus Plan innovations seemed appropriate, attempts were made to achieve their adoption and implementation.

Almost all interviewees identified many innovations that are presently being implemented in the district as spinoffs of the Campus Plan. The following chart indicates the general consensus of interviewees in regard to some key spinoffs and reflects their distribution within the district's elementary program.

Table 1 provides some interesting insights into the characteristics of the Campus Plan innovations that were widely adopted by the district. In general, those innovations that could be implemented within the general existing framework of delivery of services were adopted more frequently than those that required a change in physical or organizational structures. For example, team planning and team teaching are innovations that require only a decision to adopt on the building and teacher level and do not require seeking any major changes in the

Table 1

CAMPUS PLAN INNOVATIONS IN USE
SYRACUSE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

SCHOOLS	TOPICS								
	Individualized Instruction	Computerized Instruction	Dial-Access Information	Multi Approaches to Reading	Interest-Centered Programs	Open School Concept	Team Teaching/ Planning	Media Centers	Community Participation
Bellevue	X			Distar		X			
Danforth					Magnet		Teaching		
Delaware	X			X				X	
Elmwood	X								
Franklin	X				X				
Frazer	X			X					
Hughes	X			X			Both		
Huntington									
Hyde							Both		X
King				SRA			Teaching		
Lemoyne									
McKinley-Brighton		X			Magnet		Planning		
Meachem	X			X	X		X	X	X
Porter									
Roberts	X			X	X	Some Grades	X	X	X
Salina									
Seymour	X						Planning		
Smith, Edward	X			X			Both		
Smith, H. W.	X	X		X	X		X	X	X
Van Duyn									
Webster	X			X	X				X
Weeks	X					X	X	X	X

organizational structure of the district-as-a-whole. They are innovations that are reflected primarily in the personnel deployment of a building. However, the open-school concept, a key innovation of the Campus Plan, requires certain physical characteristics of a learning setting in order to be implemented. This innovation has been adopted primarily in new schools that were built with the open-school concept in mind such as Edwin Weeks School.

Innovations that do not require capital investment such as team planning or multi-approaches to reading were adopted more frequently than those that require capital investment such as computerized instruction or the open-school concept. Sources of funding are important for other innovations than those requiring capital investment. Although Campus Plan innovations are reasonably widely distributed among the elementary schools in the district, there are more innovations implemented in Title I schools than in non-Title I schools. For example, each Title I school has a mathematics laboratory made possible through federal grants that are unavailable to schools that do not qualify for Title I status.

The Campus Plan was designed with three major goals: to stimulate racial integration; to improve instruction on the elementary level; and to solve the problem of deteriorated physical plants. We will now examine these three goals in the context of the way in which Campus Plan spinoffs were used by the district in meeting them.

Instructional Spinoffs of the Campus Plan

Individualized Instruction

Changes in the district's elementary instructional program were viewed as a critically important part of the Campus Plan by its advocates in the district. The demise of the plan for reasons perceived as political did not affect the determination on the part of its advocates that the instructional program should be changed along the lines of the plan's innovations.

One of the most important innovations proposed in the plan was individualized instruction. Plan advocates believed that this approach (an instructional program in the classroom designed to meet the needs of each individual child) was key in the efforts of the district to improve competency in reading and mathematics. For quality education in the district, a flexible program was needed not only to meet the requirements of those children whose progress was not equal to their grade level, but also to satisfy the demands of parents of children at or ahead of their grade classification.

In the Campus Plan, individualized instruction was tied closely to the innovations of computerized instruction and dial-access information. The sophisticated computer system proposed in the plan was described as "capable of storing, processing, and retrieving large volumes of information as an integral part of the daily instructional process."[32] Individualized learning was seen as "highly dependent upon a wide range of versatile and responsive facilities and resources," including the computer system.[33]

Despite the apparent dependence of individualized instruction on the computer, as described by the Campus Plan proposal, adoption of the concept of individualized instruction without the accompanying computer system was the first innovation that advocates pushed for adoption. It was not a difficult task for advocates in the district's administration to convince the board that individualized instruction be adopted.

The ease with which this concept was accepted and the ease with which advocates were able to separate the concept from the computer system (earlier described as so essential to its success) is indicative of two basic points: first, the administration and board were genuinely committed to improving instruction through basic changes in its delivery; and, second, many Campus Plan advocates had never believed that the computer system proposed in the plan was essential to achieving a basic change in the instructional program. In their view, a computer system was desirable, but not essential. The use of computerized instruction had been the subject of much criticism during the Campus Plan controversy. By eliminating this cause of complaint, advocates of individually prescribed instruction were able to achieve their goals without difficulty. Today, fifteen of the twenty-two elementary schools in the district have adopted individually prescribed instruction. In contrast, only two schools offer computerized instruction as part of the regular curriculum. One of these is the new mathematics-science magnet school.[34]

Individualized instruction spread widely through the district for two basic reasons: first, it met a real need as perceived by classroom teachers; and, second, the application of instructional specialists to assist classroom teachers made for a relatively smooth transition. In most instances, the innovation has been incorporated because of teachers' commitment to the innovation. In one case, it is alleged that the innovation was dropped because it was too dependent on federally-funded instructional specialists and was never internalized by the classroom teachers. This appears to be the exception rather than the rule in the district. Individualized instruction is the single, most widely adopted Campus Plan innovation in the district.

Computerized Instruction and Dial-Access Information

At the time of the design of the Campus Plan, educational experts were predicting that use of the computer in instruction would revolutionize American elementary education. However, citizens' resistance to computerized instruction was quite strong in Syracuse. Some parents believed that machines would replace teachers and that education would become impersonal. Critics also pointed to the high cost of sophisticated computer systems.

In the years since the design of the plan, the enthusiasm among educational experts regarding the potential of computerized instruction has cooled. However, as computers have become less expensive and citizens have become more accustomed to the extensive use of the computer in everyday life, a slight resurgence in the use of the computer for elementary instruction has occurred. For example, every Title I mathematics laboratory in the Syracuse City School District has a computer terminal. These facilities are used for supplementary educational purposes rather than serving as the core of an instructional program. The McKinley-Brighton Fundamental Mathematics-Science School that opened September 1978 is an elementary school in which the mathematics laboratory has three computer terminals. Use of the computer for instruction will be an important part of the special mathematics and science program of this new magnet school. Television advertisements designed to attract transfer students to McKinley-Brighton School indicate that the use of computers for instruction may have lost its stigma within the Syracuse community. The ads stressed that use of the computer to upgrade or expand the mathematical skills of pupils was a positive attraction of the program. Film of children happily working at a computer terminal emphasized this approach. Early reports indicate that McKinley-Brighton School has been successful in attracting students from all sections of the city. However, the use of computers for instruction is still infrequently applied in the district; only two of the city's elementary schools offer it as a regular part of the instructional program.

Table I (page 12) shows that dial-access information, described in the Campus Plan as so important to the success of individually prescribed instruction, has not been adopted by the district, nor are there any apparent plans to seek its adoption. In the plan, dial-access information was designed to provide teachers with instantaneous information on the progress of individual students at any time. Dial-access information was to assist teachers in designing instructional programs to meet the needs of each student. In the absence of this system, teachers have been using a combination of personal observation and achievement testing at regular intervals to determine students' progress. Individualized instruction has been widely incorporated through this approach. Dial-access information has apparently not been necessary for the successful incorporation of individually prescribed instruction.

Other uses of the computer in the Syracuse City School District have been in the areas of record keeping such as pilot computerized report cards and attendance. The district is currently deciding whether its new computer facilities will be interactive. Although the use of the computer has been selective in the district, the new computer system may spur continued appropriate applications of the technology.

Other Instructional Innovations

Under the Campus Plan, team teaching and team planning were means to achieve individualized instruction. Team planning has been widely adopted in the district; team teaching has been less so, but not insignificantly. One respondent described team planning as having been "bought, lock, stock and barrel" by the district and its teachers. In most elementary schools, teachers are freed from other responsibilities at least once a week (in some schools, several times a week) for the purpose of team planning. Team planning is an excellent organizational approach to the utilization of instructional specialists by the district. With team planning, teachers can more fully coordinate activities within a building and more easily spot those areas in which the assistance of an instructional specialist would be welcome. The floating instructional specialists in the district also assist classroom teachers in program planning. The concept of team planning has been widely adopted because it enhances efficiency and quality within a building and is desired by teachers.

Team teaching has been somewhat less-widely adopted. For instance, some buildings may have team planning on all levels, but team teaching arrangements in only a few classrooms. The most important reasons why team teaching has been adopted less frequently are probably that it requires intensive planning and coordination and that teachers apparently perceive a lesser need for it than for team planning. In general, however, both team planning and team teaching have been reasonably well applied in the district.

The use of instructional specialists was also an important part of the Campus Plan. As the district's supervisory staff has declined in size, the district has begun to rely more extensively on the instructional specialist to bring new ideas to the classroom teacher. There are instructional specialists in such subjects as mathematics, science, and reading, assigned on a full-time or part-time basis in all of the elementary schools. These specialists assist in program implementation, team planning, and in the operation of mathematics laboratories, reading laboratories, and media centers. In special programs such as the McKinley-Brighton magnet school, instructional specialists are important in providing the unique programs offered. In addition to the permanently assigned instructional specialists, Title I funds have provided the district with nine instructional specialists who serve according to Title I program guidelines. (This program predated the Campus Plan, and has since been expanded.) Instructional specialists also serve as resources for the inservice educational program of the district.

Inservice education, a program to strengthen the skills of teachers and administrators in the district, was also a part of the Campus Plan. Every school year, there are two days set aside as "Superintendent Days." Teachers participate in training programs on these days. In addition, time is provided in the school year for each building to conduct inservice educational activities. The Special Programs building offers courses for teacher education and provides a resource center for teachers to learn about new approaches to instruction or to improve their skills in areas of their choice. Training is also available for paraprofessionals such as teacher aides and assistants.

Soon after the district began to widely adopt individualized instruction, a change was made in the report card to a competency-based reporting system. As illustrated below, the system reports a child's progress through the year in two major areas: language and mathematics. Parent and child are able to see easily the performance levels achieved by the student (as well as the child's relative progress) as compared with other children of his/her general age group. Further breakdown into skill areas for mathematics and reading and performance in subject areas such as science, social studies, and health are also shown.

Illustrations of some of the information found on a hypothetical fourth-grader's card at the end of the school year are shown in Figure 1 on the following page. This child's card indicates that the student is ahead of his/her peers in reading, but lags in performance in mathematics. Closer observation reveals that the child needs to improve performance in multiplication, division, and problem-solving in order to be at the norm for his or her grade. Because individualized instruction has been adopted, the student's teacher in the fifth grade can concentrate efforts on these problem areas. The competency-based reporting system increases information on students' progress for both parents and teachers.

Integration Plans in the Syracuse City School District Since the Campus Plan

Another major purpose of the Campus Plan was to provide the Syracuse City School District with a long-range solution to problems of racial imbalance in the elementary schools. With only four elementary campuses, attendance lines could have been drawn and revised, as needed, to ensure racial balance. With the demise of the Campus Plan, other means had to be sought to achieve racial balance.

Since 1962, the district has had an open school enrollment policy. Under this policy, any student could attend any school in the district. This policy apparently was not aggressively promoted, however, and did not substantially affect racial imbalance. After a lawsuit was brought against the city to desegragate the schools and the New York State Commissioner of Education issued an order requiring implementation of a plan to do so by September 1976, an expanded, voluntary transfer plan was put into effect for the 1976-1977 school year. In addition to the transfer plan, a mandatory pupil assignment plan was also adopted for three elementary schools in the southern part of the city. Under this plan, if the three schools (known as Area 4) were not integrated through the voluntary plan by June 30, 1976, pupils would be mandatorily assigned to ensure racial balance. A plan for a districtwide, mandatory integration plan to be implemented in the 1977-1978 school year was passed by the board on May 27, 1976. Under this plan, twelve additional schools were organized in groups of three for a mandatory assignment plan.

The mandatory plan was presented to the board by Superintendent Weeks. An advisory committee, composed of teachers, administrators, parents, and citizens appointed by the board, had submitted four proposals, voluntary and mandatory, but had not been able to come to an agreement on any one plan to be recommended to the board. Over 350 persons attended the board meeting at which the mandatory plan was adopted. Speakers in favor of the voluntary plan argued that it would work if given sufficient time; that, under a mandatory plan, access to neighborhood schools would be lost; that busing to achieve racial balance was too expensive; and that most citizens favored a voluntary plan. Some speakers believed that it was unfair to require mandatory pupil assignments for Area 4 a year earlier than mandatory plans for schools in other parts of the district.[34] A member of the board

Figure 1: Example of Information on Grade Cards

Your child is working on the last level circled or marked. The norm for each grade is indicated by the levels between the vertical lines.

Reading

Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Level	1	2 3 4 5	6 7	8 9	10 11	[✓ 12] 13	14 15	16	17

Mathematics

Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Level	1	2 3 4 5	6 7	8 [✓ 9]	10 11	12 13	14 15	16	17

Reading

	Regularly	Often	Some of the time	No evidence of progress	Not applicable
Identifies words	✓				
Knows meaning of words	✓				
Understands material read	✓				
Uses study skills	✓				
Shows interest in reading	✓				

Mathematics

	Regularly	Often	Some of the time	No evidence of progress	Not applicable
Knows concepts		✓			
Computes accurately					
Addition	✓				
Subtraction	✓				
Multiplication			✓		
Division			✓		
Solves Problems			✓		

defended partial implementation of a mandatory plan by noting that Area 4 presented the least problems in logistics and the best chance for success, since the affected schools had already engaged in "joint communication."[35] When the three elementary schools did not achieve their goals of racial balance by June 30, 1976, the mandatory plan was put into effect for the 1976-1977 school year.

The implementation of the mandatory plan brought controvery and increased political activity to the city school district. Attendance of citizens at board meetings continued to be high. Groups opposed to the mandatory plan such as Syracuse Citizens Rebelling Against Mandatory Busing (SCRAMB) began to organize. Southside parents and citizens' groups opposed to the plan picketed the schools on opening day and threatened to engage in a boycott of the public schools. At a board meeting held on October 19, 1976, a representative of an elementary school mothers' club remarked, "We are not in favor of a boycott at this time as a method of showing our disapproval of forced busing. If, however, it seems that this is our only alternative, we will not hesitate to do so in the future."[36]

At the November 16 meeting of the board, a resolution to rescind the plan in mid-year and reassign all children in Area 4 to their neighborhood school was presented to the board. This resolution was defeated. Some avid opponents of the plan believed that another big change in school assignment in the same year was not good for the children. It was apparent to the board that the mandatory plan could not be implemented without extreme upheaval and controversy in the Syracuse community. On January 10, 1977, a resolution was passed rescinding both the Area 4 and city-wide mandatory plans and calling for the submission of a new plan before February 1, 1977. Opponents of mandatary busing had prevailed.

During fall 1976, while the city was embroiled in the integration controversy, another important change was made in the administration of the district: Superintendent Weeks resigned, and the present superintendent, Dr. Sidney Johnson, became the administrative head of a troubled school district. The approach to the new integration plan taken by Superintendent Johnson and the board was to combine the need for racial balance with the need to retire aging school buildings and reduce costs to the city. On January 18, 1977, the board voted to adopt a three-year facilities reorganization plan on or before August 30, 1977. The board intended to retire or consolidate a sufficient number of school facilities to achieve a 90 percent building capacity utilization rate before September 1, 1980. The plan stated: ". . . any school retirement or consolidation either reduce the number of racially imbalanced schools or significantly reduce the level of racial imbalance in the remaining unbalanced schools and that this policy become effective immediately."[37]

Known as the quadrant plan, this design for a long-range solution to racial imbalance was similar to the Campus Plan. Under the Campus Plan, each quadrant of the city would have had only one elementary campus. Under the quadrant plan, consolidation was not as extensive, but ten schools were closed, reducing the number of elementary schools in the city from 32 to 22, a reduction of about one-third. Schools were closed based upon their physical condition and their proximity to other, larger facilities which could accept an increased pupil population. Each of the four high schools serves as the focal point of a quadrant. Under the quadrant plan, children attend schools within their own quadrant throughout their public education, from kindergarten through high school. Although there are certainly not as many neighborhood schools since the adoption of the quadrant plan, at least all of the children in a family are able to attend school within the same quadrant. A certain stability and continuity for families is provided. It is hoped that this will assist in maintaining community contact with the school system.

The quadrant plan was implemented at the beginning of the 1977-1978 school year. Because of the closing of ten elementary schools, the opening of a new elementary school on the north side of the city, and the establishment of a magnet school in the Danforth elementary school, nearly one-third of the district's elementary pupils were reassigned.[38] Racial balance was achieved in all but three of the twenty-two elementary schools. By the end of the 1977-1978 school year, the magnet school at Danforth had also achieved racial balance. The two remaining schools were engaged in a tandem program that featured an exchange of students on a part-time basis designed to promote racial balance. With the addition of another magnet at the McKinley-Brighton elementary school in the 1978-1979 school year, the district achieved its goals of racial balance, at least for the time being.

Community response to the quadrant plan differed substantially from its response to the 1976 plan discussed above. The first day of classes in 1977 brought few problems; Syracuse respondents reported that a "Boston-like" situation had been averted. Respondents had not expected trouble, but the apparent ease with which one-third of the city's children were reassigned and racial balance was achieved was viewed with some degree of astonishment and pleasure. The smooth adoption and implementation of the quadrant plan resulted from the intense effort put forth by the superintendent, the board, and the district staff to make the transition an easy one. Many meetings had been held with community groups to explain the plan and receive their comments on it. Attempts had been made to stress the value of citizens' participation to the success of the plan. Special participation structures also had been implemented. These included teams of teachers, administrators, and parents within each school to handle any problems associated with the changes caused by the plan, and a system of quadrant meetings designed to give citizens a chance to ask questions and debate issues surrounding the plan. Quadrant meetings were held on a regular basis. At these meetings, top-echelon administrators from the district and the quadrant schools made themselves available for citizens and parents to raise questions and discuss problems. During the first year of implementation of the plan, these meetings were extremely well attended. Since that time, attendance has dropped substantially, but the mechanism is still available for use by citizens when they believe it is needed.

Changes in the ten years between the debate on the Campus Plan and implementation of the quadrant plan may themselves have caused the difference in reaction to the plans. Other plans had been tried in the interval and had not been successful. Declining enrollment, the further deterioration of the city's physical facilities, and, apparently, a recognition that a solution must be found to problems of racial imbalance had the combined effect of creating a different atmosphere in the community in 1977 than had existed ten years earlier. The demise of the neighborhood school was no longer viewed as a policy issue forced on an unwilling public, but rather as the inevitable result of demographic changes and economic realities.

Facility Construction and Consolidation Since the Campus Plan

Solving the problem of deteriorating physical plants was the third major goal of the Campus Plan. After the failure of the plan, this problem continued to get worse, particularly on the north side of the city where their first campus was to have been built. In 1972, Superintendent Gunning responded to reports that two northside elementary schools were near collapse and that two others were in horrible condition. He proposed the construction of one new school to replace all four. Under the plan, the new northside elementary school would house 1300-1400 pupils. Community awareness and opposition to the campus-plan approach to school construction was still sufficiently intense at this time to result in a public statement by the superintendent that "this is not the return of the Campus Plan."[39] Gunning was careful to point out that, under the Campus Plan, each school would have held about 4,000 pupils. Plans for the near northside elementary school were less ambitious.

Planning for the new school began with a projected opening date of 1976 or 1977. From the first, the design of the new school was to be based on the open-school concept. The Campus Plan may have died, but the commitment of the board and the district to the open-school concept remained strong. Another elementary school, using the open-school concept, had been built in 1974, and there was virtually complete agreement within the community that the new school be designed along the same lines.

A citizens' Site Survey Committee was established to consider the best site for the new school. Community interest in maintaining the neighborhood school remained high. The citizens' committee recommended that two smaller schools be built, rather than the larger school preferred by the district. Through a long process of debate and the efforts of district staff to publicize the benefits of the design, both in terms of cost and program, the plans to build a single school continued. However, the final design could accommodate only 900 pupils, approximately 500 less than originally planned. This reduction in the size of the new school was in response both to community sentiment and to the projections for a continued decline in enrollment in city schools.

The progress toward construction of the new school was not devoid of controversy. A debate regarding site selection for the school continued for over a year. The main issues revolved around the amount of housing to be displaced by the new school and the question of whether the board of education or the Syracuse Common Council (which approves bonding) had the right to decide on a site. On March 30, 1976, as demonstrators on both sides of the site controversy picketed City Hall, two council members changed their votes, and the present site of the school was approved.

When the new school opened in fall 1977, community response was extremely favorable. It was renamed Edwin E. Weeks School in honor of the former superintendent of schools. Built at a cost of $6.2 million, it was described in news reports as "standing as a monument to a long and hard battle by near northside families to have a school built in their area . . . ."[40] No mention was made of the Campus Plan debate and its defeat. The school features 30 classrooms with movable furniture and room dividers which "make it possible to reduce or enlarge the size of instructional areas."[41] An indoor playscape, two gynmasiums, a swimming pool, a media resource center, and a learning activity center with a mini-amphitheater complete the facility. The school was described as beginning "its career bursting with everything conceivable for imparting instruction and providing recreation."[42] The new school was part of the facilities reorganization of the quadrant plan. Four dilapidated northside elementary schools were closed, and their pupils assigned to Edwin Weeks. In addition, two predominantly minority schools were closed, and some of their students were assigned to Edwin Weeks to ensure racial balance.

The closing of ten elementary schools under the quadrant plan and the construction of the Edwin Weeks School, in all likelihood, does not signify an end to construction and consolidation of the Syracuse city schools. A Long-Range Facilities Planning Committee, composed of parents, teachers, and administrators, has been charged by the board to investigate future consolidation to meet problems of rising costs and declining enrollment. It has been reported that, in 1968-1969, there were over 30,000 pupils in the Syracuse City School District. In 1978, there were fewer than 23,000. The committee's projections indicate that the decline will result in about 18,700 city pupils by 1982.

Under the present quadrant plan, there are four high schools, a central technical and vocational high school, eight junior high or middle schools, and twenty-two elementary schools. Three plans are presently under consideration to reduce the number of schools even further. These plans include: (1) a revised quadrant plan with four high schools, six middle schools, and 13 elementary schools; (2) a triad plan dividing the district into three parts with a total of three high schools plus a vocational high school, five or six middle schools, and nine to twelve elementary schools; and (3) a middle school plan with the district organized on a kindergarten-to-fifth-grade, sixth-to-eighth-grade, and ninth-to-twelfth-grade basis. The saving to the district, if any of the three plans were adopted, would be between $1.2 million and $1.6 million a year. Under each of the plans, the district would remain racially balanced.

Public hearings and meetings with representatives of school parents' groups and others are being held over the next few months. Public participation is expected to be relatively widespread. The committee will present its recommendations in January 1979, at which time the board will consider implementation of all or part of the recommendations. The architect who designed Edwin Weeks School has been contracted to assess the physical condition of the remaining schools in the district. Although no specific plans to construct new elementary schools have been announced, it is clear that the district will continue to pursue the open school concept in any future construction. Acceptance of this concept has been one of the long-lasting effects of the Campus Plan in the Syracuse City School District.

Conclusion

The design and advocacy of the Campus Plan dominated Syracuse public education for much of the last half of the 1960s. The 1970s have brought changing conditions of increased fiscal constraints and declining enrollment. Problems of achieving racial balance and ensuring quality education have continued. The Campus Plan failed, but the lessons learned from its defeat have been applied in seeking solutions to these changing conditions and recurring problems.

Many of the instructional innovations implemented in city schools have their roots in the Campus Plan. The means to pursue quality education for the city's elementary schools were refined during the development of the plan. District commitment to individualized instruction, team teaching, team planning, and the open-school concept remain strong a decade after the defeat of the plan. It is the view of most respondents that innovations such as those just listed would have been adopted by the district even without the Campus Plan. The importance of the plan was in solidifying long-range instructional plans and in accelerating their adoption and implementation. The skills developed by the district staff in the design of the Campus Plan continue to be applied in seeking solutions to new problems and in taking advantage of new opportunities.

Political lessons were also learned from the experience of the Campus Plan debate. Increases both in the extent and quality of citizens' participation in district affairs has occurred since then. For example, at the time of the Campus Plan, its Citizens' Advisory Committee was not expected to "endorse, condemn, or otherwise make recommendations" on the plan.[43] Design of the plan was conducted primarily by district personnel and educational consultants. In contrast, the present Long-Range Facilities Planning Committee, composed of parents and district staff, has been charged to develop and recommend plans for the further consolidation of the city's schools. The board of education is not required to implement the committee's recommendations, but citizens' input into the development of the plan is more direct and influential than was the case in the Campus Plan. Syracuse educators have learned that citizens' acceptance of innovation and change is much enhanced when citizens have had a part in the creation of the plans for change. Ongoing, formal mechanisms for citizens' participation such as the quadrant meetings have given citizens a constant forum for the expression of their views on district policy.

Another important lesson learned from the Campus Plan is that innovations are more likely to be adopted under conditions of what might be called "prepared advocacy, or entrepreneurship." The importance of having an in-house process for innovation that is both professional and cognizant of problems from a Syracuse perspective is reflected in the growth of the Special Programs unit. As was the case with the Campus Plan, the primary advocate of change in the district is still the superintendent. The importance of the strength of the Special Programs unit is that the available funds to carry out policy can be found through the grants activities of this group.

The failure of the Campus Plan can partially be attributed to what might be termed "bad timing." The people of Syracuse did not perceive the problems of racial imbalance, declining enrollment, fiscal restraints, and deteriorating buildings as serious enough in the late 1960s to require as radical a change as the Campus Plan would have provided. By the 1970s, problems had become worse; alternative solutions to radical change had been tried and abandoned; and the district staff had developed the skill to design and implement radical change in the district such as the quadrant plan. While not as spectacular as the Campus Plan on the surface, the innovations that have been adopted and implemented as a collectivity in the district have had a significant effect in changing elementary education in Syracuse.

NOTES

1. Guthrie S. Birkhead, *et al*., *How the Campus Proposal Failed in Syracuse, New York*. Report prepared for the Eastern Regional Institute for Education (Syracuse, NY: Eastern Regional Institute for Education, 1970).
2. Barbara Howard, "Rejecting an Educational Park: The Demise of the Syracuse Campus Plan," *Adoption and Utilization of Urban Technology: A Decision-Making Study*. Report to the National Science Foundation by the Syracuse Research Corporation, 1977, p. A-4.
3. *Financial Implications of the Campus Plan: Quality Education for Elementary Schools*, second supplement to the *Report to the Syracuse Board of Education on a Proposal for the Campus Plan*, September 1968, p. 38. (The White Report)
4. *Quality Education for Elementary Schools*, first supplement to the *Report to the Syracuse Board of Education on a Proposal for the Campus Plan*, May 1968, p. 2. (The Green Report)
5. Ibid., p. 64.
6. Barbara Howard, *op*. *cit*., p A-6.
7. *The Post-Standard*, March 16, 1966.
8. Barbara Howard, *op*. *cit*., p. A-11.
9. *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, August 1966.
10. Barbara Howard, *op*. *cit*., p. A-13.
11. David F. Sine and Lawrence J. Marquit, *Report to the Syracuse Board of Education on a Proposal, The Campus Plan for Future Elementary School Construction*, a feasibility study of the campus site concept for elementary school construction prepared for the Commissioners of Education by the Syracuse Campus Site Planning Center, 1967, p. xiii. (The Orange Report)
12. Barbara Howard, *op*. *cit*., p. A-18.
13. Guthrie S. Birkhead, *et al*., *op*. *cit*., p. 21.
14. *Quality Education for Elementary Schools*, *op*. *cit*., p. 2.
15. Barbara Howard, *op*. *cit*., p. A-20.

16. Ibid., p. A-21.

17. Guthrie S. Birkhead, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; Barbara Howard, *op. cit.*, p. A-23.

18. *Financial Implications of the Campus Plan*, *op. cit.*

19. This omission is noteworthy since one of the "selling points" emphasized by the superintendent was the potential ability of the plan to attract federal and foundation support.

20. *Financial Implications of the Campus Plan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

21. *The Campus Plan: One Answer to Quality Elementary Education in Syracuse*, a brochure prepared for the public. *See also*, Guthrie Birkhead, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

22. Barbara Howard, *op. cit.*, p. A-34.

23. Ibid., p. A-37.

24. *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, January 14, 1969.

25. Barbara Howard, *op. cit.*, p. A-49.

26. Interview with Dennis Sweeney, July 11, 1978.

27. Interview with Richard Kassman, July 9, 1978.

28. Interview with Paul Casavant, July 18, 1978.

29. Interview with Sidney Johnson, August 8, 1978.

30. Interview with Robert Cullivan, July 13, 1978; interview with James M. Zatlukal, July 18, 1978.

31. Interview with Newton Allen, August 8, 1978.

32. *Financial Implications of the Campus Plan*, *op. cit.*

33. *Quality Education for Elementary Schools*, *op. cit.*

34. Minutes of the Meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, May 27, 1976.

35. Ibid.

36. Minutes of the Meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, October 19, 1976.

37. Minutes of the Meeting of the Syracuse Board of Education, January 18, 1977.

38. Syracuse Herald-Journal, September 6, 1977.

39. Herald-American, February 27, 1972.

40. The Post-Standard, September 5, 1977.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Syracuse Herald-Journal, August 1966.

H

RESIDUAL EFFECTS OF PROJECT UNIQUE IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK: 1970-1979

by

Patrick J. Hennigan

(Footnotes on p. H-32)

RESIDUAL EFFECTS OF PROJECT UNIQUE IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK: 1970-1979

In this case study, we attempt to identify and analyze the residual effects of a large-scale, multicomponent, innovative educational project called "Project Unique" (United Now for Integrated Quality Urban-Suburban Education). This project was designed, adopted, and implemented between 1965 and 1970 by the Rochester City School District, Rochester, New York. It received national attention during that period because it was considered to be one of the most comprehensive urban educational programs financed by Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The broad goals of Project Unique were to reduce racial imbalance and to improve urban education.

In previous research for the National Science Foundation, we documented the design, adoption, and three-year implementation stages of Project Unique from 1965 through 1970. In this case study, we attempt to document the more recent developments: incorporation, routinization, and any residual effects that can be attributed to Project Unique.

Background

Project Unique was designed as a collection of nine innovative programs centrally administered by a special unit called the "Center for Cooperative Action in Urban Education" (CCAUE). In 1970, William C. Young, director of Project Unique, described its special status in this way:

> From its inception, Project Unique enjoyed a semiautonomous status within the Rochester City School District. This relative freedom from jurisdictional disputes and bureaucratic control permitted a very flexible approach to the problems of urban education. Frequent adjustments were made to meet new needs and to eliminate unsuccessful programs.[1]

For the three-year trial implementation, Project Unique received about $4.5 million in Title III funds. Of the twelve original components in the first proposal submitted by the school district to the U. S. Office of Education in 1967, nine were approved and funded for the three-year period. In addition to the administrative unit (CCAUE), two of the major components included the World of Inquiry School (WOIS) and the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP). Other program components included the Urban Education Major Program, the Community Resources Workshop, the Teacher Program, RISE

(Right of an Individual to Secure an Education), SPAN (School Parent Adviser to the Neighborhood), the Teacher Internship Program, the Community Resources Council, and Sibley's Satellite School.

After 1970, when Title III funding for Project Unique ended, essentially only two of the original nine components continued to function intact: the World of Inquiry School and the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program. The following programs either were terminated or merged with other programs:

(1) RISE - Designed to respond to the needs of individuals in the public schools and community agencies to improve their job status with additional academic training.

(2) Urban Education Major - Provided opportunities for special graduate training oriented toward urban schools. After 1970, it was transferred to local college programs.

(3) Community Teacher - Based on the notion of a classroom in the home, and focused on the need for early childhood education. After 1970, it became part of the Community Education Center, supported by state funds.

(4) SPAN - Focused on the connection between the home and school, with paraprofessionals serving as trouble-shooters and ombudsmen. It also merged with the growing paraprofessional movement in Rochester.

(5) Sibley's Satellite School - Provided a highly visible setting in a downtown department store for customers and other visitors to see integrated education "in action." It was terminated in fall 1973 due to its cost of operation.

(6) Teacher Internship - Designed to prepare interns to be effective classroom teachers for inner-city schools. Interns were new student teachers, as well as experienced elementary teachers who desired retraining. This program was also terminated after 1970.

The major components, the World of Inquiry School and the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program, have been analyzed in greater detail to determine their current status and various residual effects.

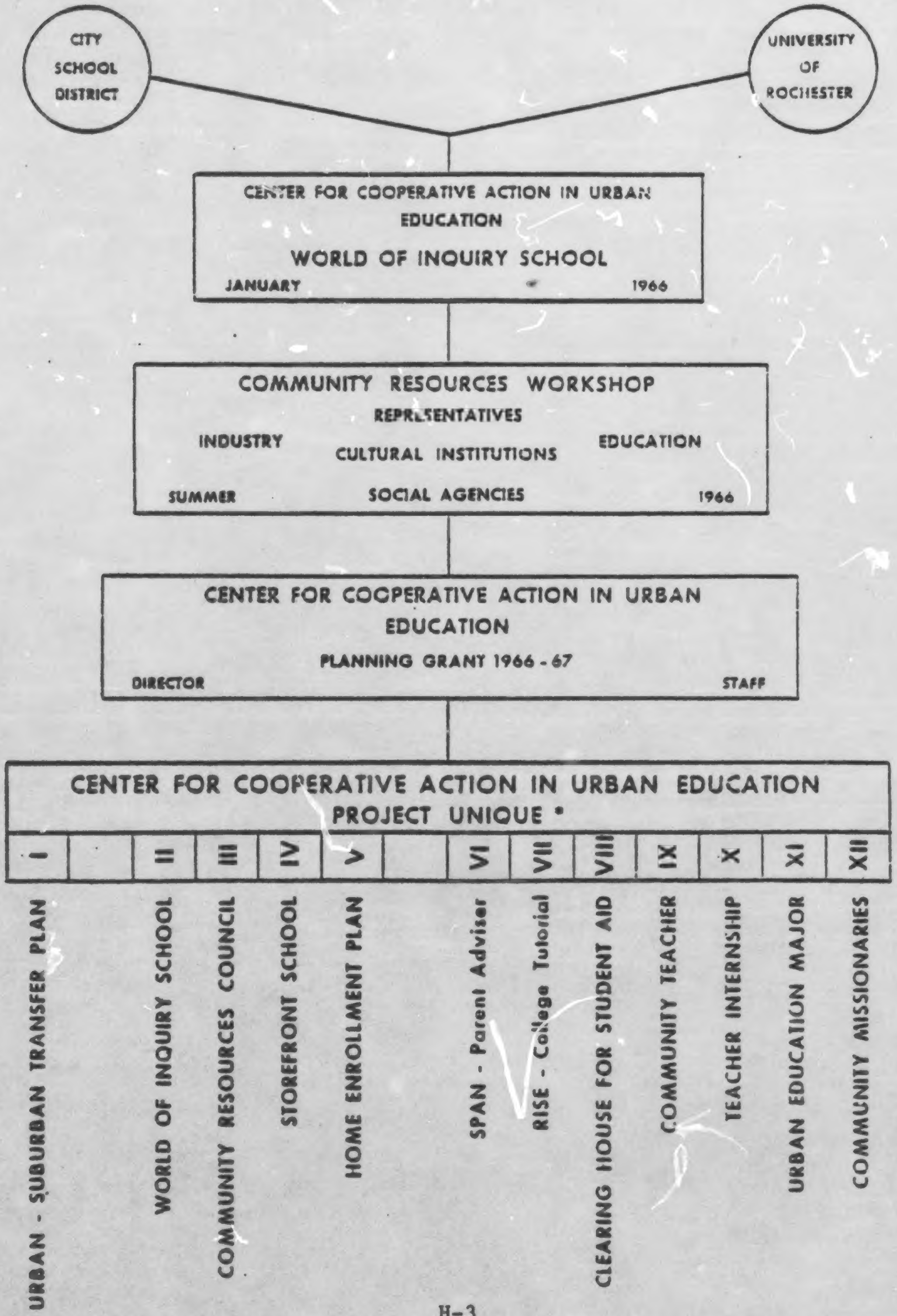
The Rochester Setting[2]

During the past two decades, the City of Rochester has declined in population as the suburbs have increased in population and, in fact, surpassed the city.

	City	Suburbs
1960	318,611	167,716
1970	296,233	415,684

FIGURE 1

*United Now for Innovation in Quality Urban - suburban Education


CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT
UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER
CENTER FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION IN URBAN EDUCATION
WORLD OF INQUIRY SCHOOL
JANUARY 1966
COMMUNITY RESOURCES WORKSHOP
REPRESENTATIVES
INDUSTRY
CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS
EDUCATION
SOCIAL AGENCIES
SUMMER 1966
CENTER FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION IN URBAN EDUCATION
PLANNING GRANT 1966 - 67
DIRECTOR
STAFF
CENTER FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION IN URBAN EDUCATION
PROJECT UNIQUE *
I URBAN - SUBURBAN TRANSFER PLAN
II WORLD OF INQUIRY SCHOOL
III COMMUNITY RESOURCES COUNCIL
IV STOREFRONT SCHOOL
V HOME ENROLLMENT PLAN
VI SPAN - Parent Adviser
VII RISE - College Tutorial
VIII CLEARING HOUSE FOR STUDENT AID
IX COMMUNITY TEACHER
X TEACHER INTERNSHIP
XI URBAN EDUCATION MAJOR
XII COMMUNITY MISSIONARIES

The city's minority group population has increased substantially without a comparable increase of minority group population in the suburbs. From 1950 to 1970, the Black population in Rochester increased from 7,590 to 49,647; the Puerto-Rican population is estimated to number about 20,000 today.

In 1963, the Rochester Board of Education submitted a report to the New York State Commissioner of Education, entitled "Racial Imbalance in the Rochester City Schools." At that time, seven elementary schools had enrollments of non-White pupils in excess of 50 percent. By 1970, twelve elementary schools were more than 50 percent minority students.

The first racial census of public school enrollment in 1966 indicated that 28.7 percent of the students were minority group pupils. In 1970, minority students were 35.7 percent.

In the secondary schools in Rochester, the minority group enrollment increased from 26.6 percent in 1968 to 46 percent in 1974. Seven of fourteen secondary school units had minority group populations over 52 percent. By November 1976, the secondary school enrollment had, in fact, become a majority enrollment, with 51.77 percent.

During the 1975-76 school year, minority group students became a majority of the enrollment in Rochester's public schools.[3] In the first half of the 1970s, Rochester had the most pronounced increase in minority enrollment among New York State's five big cities. By October 1976, minority enrollment had risen to 52.85 percent.

Types of Residual Effects

Our data indicated that there are several types of residual effects:

Type I: Those effects directly attributable to a particular project; in this case, Project Unique or one of its components.

Type II: Those effects originating in earlier innovations or programs that are enhanced or extended by a later specific innovation. There is a "piggyback" effect here.

We have found some residual effects to be mixed. They are the result of many innovative attempts and other policy decisions. The matrix on the following page (figure 2) describes some indicators of structured residual effects examined in this study.

FIGURE 2

CATEGORIES OF RESIDUALS BY COMPONENTS OF PROJECT UNIQUE

TYPE OF INDICATOR	I.Urban-Sub Transfer	II.WOIS	III.CRAC	IV.Storefront School	V.Home Env. Plan	VI.SPAN	VII.RISE	VIII.Community	Teacher	IX.Teacher Internship	CCAUE
I. Structural											
Standard operating procedure											
Codification											
Contract											
Reorganization plan											
Personnel classification											
Incentives											
Changes in role											
Change in organizational membership											
Change in resource allocation											
Cooperative agreements											

Examination of Residual Effects in Components of Project Unique:

The World of Inquiry School

In 1969, the New York State Board of Regents granted a provisional charter to Project Unique, making it a nonprofit, educational corporation. Among its objectives were the following:

(1) To "Establish the World of Inquiry School, a nongraded, integrated school that is experimenting with new techniques in elementary education with a student population from the inner city, outer city, and suburbs," and

(2) "To cooperate with the City School District and other school districts to establish other schools based upon the principles of the World of Inquiry School."

WOIS was a major operating component of Project Unique during the period 1967-70. It opened in September 1967 with 120 students and a fifteen-to-one student/teacher ratio. Enrollment increased to 130-135 by the end of the year, expanding the class size to about 20 pupils. By the third year, enrollment increased to about 200, with 20-25 pupils per class. From 1973 to the present, enrollment has been about 275 students. This increase resulted in larger classes but lower costs-per-pupil as funding sources changed from federal experimental funds to local school district funds.

The school has been integrated with about half the students from minority groups. Geographically, from 1967 to 1973, there was a mix of city and suburban children. The innovative approaches used in the school included: its nontraditional, organizational arrangement into family groups and interest centers; the integration of students; the transfer of suburban pupils to a city school; and the individualized program of instruction with a low teacher/pupil ratio. The Interest Centers, each with a teacher resource specialist, include art, library, music, reading, physical education, social studies, and industrial arts. Children plan their own programs, selecting from among interest areas. The World of Inquiry School was originally planned to be only an interim school.

In a report prepared for the Rochester Board of Education in February 1969, Superintendent Goldberg recommended that a permanent, fully operational facility for 800 children be constructed, based on the pilot WOIS.[4] He proposed that financing for construction of the permanent school be sought from private funds. The enrollment would be 600 city children and 200 suburban children paying tuition to the city.

City school district administrators had envisioned this new school for 800 students to be built next to a new educational administration complex on Main Street West (a 21-acre, urban-renewal site). However, for the interim school, an older building (#58 School) was renovated at a cost of about $90,000. Although enrollment at the World of Inquiry

School increased to 150 students a year later, 200 students in 1969, and 275 students by 1973, the new school construction was continually delayed. This was, in part, because of a struggle between the city school district and the residents of the Third Ward (West Main Street). Civil rights groups wanted housing rather than the new school and an administration building on the site. To date, the educational complex has not been constructed. New housing units have been built on the site. In summer 1979, a new central office for the administration of the city school district did open near this site in a rehabilitated building that formerly housed the Rochester Institute of Technology.

The World of Inquiry School was an early magnet-type school, drawing children on a voluntary basis from the inner city, outer city, and suburban districts. In the early 1970s, it was characterized as one of three "alternative" schools, an optional setting for students. One major residual effect was that WOIS set the tone for integrated educational efforts, later funded by the Emergency School Aid Act, and for recent planning efforts to expand the magnet-school concept. The experiences of administering WOIS were shared with other district administrators through community planning panels and work groups.

The following residual effects of WOIS were identified and examined:

(1) the use of computers;
(2) continued use of family groups and interest centers;
(3) the magnet-school approach;
(4) the IPI Systems approach;
(5) the transfer of the WOIS model;
(6) the Joint Parent-Staff Reporting Process;
(7) teaching practices:
    (a) fluid class groupings;
    (b) team teaching;
    (c) open classroom environment;
    (d) parents as helpers;
    (e) reporting system to parents; and
(8) the overall attitudinal changes about the role of WOIS.

In addition, the position of WOIS in the district organizational hierarchy was explored. During the heyday of Project Unique, the program administrator of WOIS, William Pugh, reported directly to Young, the director of Project Unique who, in turn, reported directly to the superintendent. A review of the 1973-74 organization chart of the Rochester City School District indicates that Project Unique, as an organizational entity, was missing (see organization chart on the following page). Several of its major components, WOIS, and the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program were under the supervision of the coordinator of urban-funded programs who, in turn, reported to the assistant superintendent for instruction; the assistant superintendent reported to the superintendent.

Approximately between 1969 and 1973, Project Unique, Incorporated

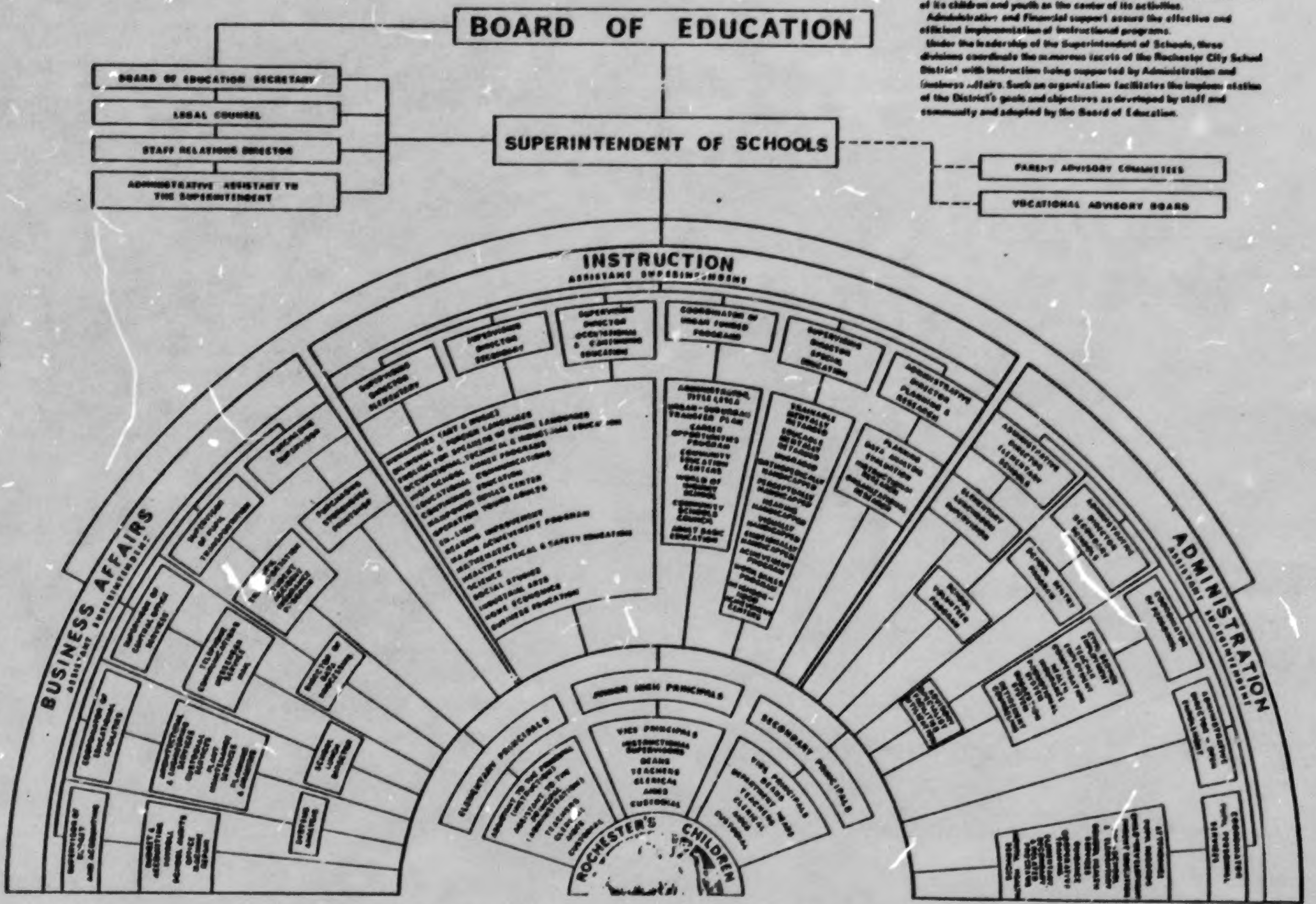
FIGURE 3: CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT - ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

ORGANIZATION CHART

The Rochester City School District is organized with the instruction of its children and youth as the center of its activities.

Administrative and Financial support assure the effective and efficient implementation of instructional programs.

Under the leadership of the Superintendent of Schools, three divisions coordinate the numerous facets of the Rochester City School District with Instruction being supported by Administration and Business Affairs. Such an organization facilitates the implementation of the District's goals and objectives as developed by staff and community and adopted by the Board of Education.


BOARD OF EDUCATION
BOARD OF EDUCATION SECRETARY
LEGAL COUNSEL
STAFF RELATIONS DIRECTOR
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
PARENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES
VOCATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD
INSTRUCTION
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
SUPERVISING DIRECTOR ELEMENTARY
SUPERVISING DIRECTOR SECONDARY
SUPERVISING DIRECTOR OCCUPATIONAL & CONTINUING EDUCATION
COORDINATOR OF URBAN FUNDED PROGRAMS
SUPERVISING DIRECTOR SPECIAL EDUCATION
ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR PLANNING & RESEARCH
BUSINESS AFFAIRS
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
ADMINISTRATION
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
JUNIOR HIGH PRINCIPALS
ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS
SECONDARY PRINCIPALS
VICE PRINCIPALS
INSTRUCTIONAL SUPERVISORS
DEANS
TEACHERS
CLERICAL
AIDES
CUSTODIAL
ROCHESTER'S CHILDREN

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(PUI) served as a trustee for WOIS. During that period, the WOIS administrator had annually informed the board of PUI of policy decisions and new proposals. Recently, PUI has limited its role to providing funds for a workshop teacher and other supplementary services. In the early 1970s, when the Rochester City School District refused to pay for suburban children in WOIS, the PUI board passed a resolution to accept suburban children in the spirit of the original magnet notion of WOIS. For the past three to four years, the relationship between WOIS and PUI has been somewhat cloudy and unclear. This situation may be, in part, because of the generally uncertain role of PUI in the district.

Many of the residual effects examined were subtle, attitudinal changes relating to the role, or perceived role, of WOIS. In the "golden years" (1967-1970), WOIS was charged with exerting an influence, impacting on the district-as-a-whole. The administrators, teaching staff, and parent groups took a very active role. For example, a group of parents from WOIS pressured the board to move to a nongraded system districtwide. WOIS was more highly publicized then in numerous news releases and public relations activities. More recently, there has been little or no public relations activity about WOIS. There has been less marketing or selling of the WOIS model by the central administrators and by the WOIS staff.

Documenting the role of WOIS as a change agent is a difficult task. A number of teaching practices such as fluid class grouping and reporting systems to parents are being used in other schools; yet, the PIP Systems Approach for instruction is still used only in WOIS. Some consider it too complex a system to be transferred to other schools.

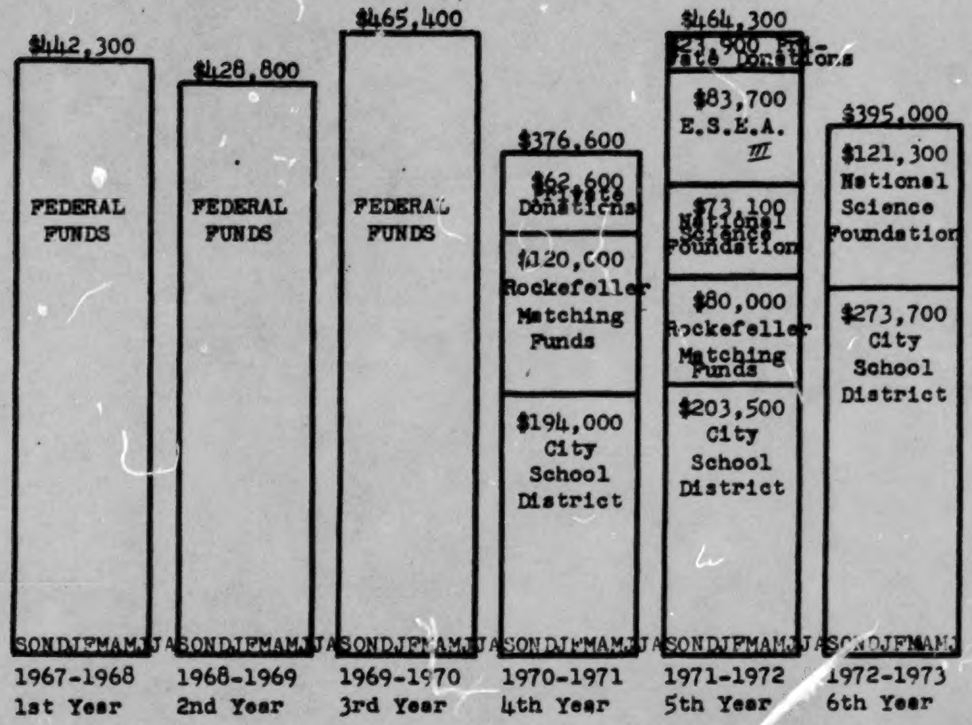
From 1974 to 1979, the status of WOIS appeared to be reduced. Formerly, there was a process of voluntary teacher assignment; recently, the district has assigned teachers. Yet, the voluntary assignment of children remains in effect. Formerly, the program administrator had the authority to choose his staff; recently, staff members have been assigned by the central district office, with little or no input from the WOIS program administrator. Central office staff members, however, see this as the only way to comply with regulations on ethnic balance in all schools.

Despite a somewhat reduced status, WOIS has not become dormant. Due to its voluntary enrollment approach, WOIS must revaluate and perhaps reorganize its programs to improve its product line. Its program has been modified to "return to basic skills," to become more "curriculum-oriented." In earlier years, WOIS considered itself more "child-oriented." WOIS is into the first year of a reorganization, with social studies as a potential organizing concept for its curricula. The enrollment has stabilized. WOIS has relocated and is sharing a building with #14 School, which operates on a traditional neighborhood basis. WOIS continues to draw from all areas of the city. In its new location, WOIS can take greater advantage of community resources, public buses, the zoo, parks, and museums. In 1979, a new drive for suburban recruitment focused on WOIS. The enrollment is scheduled to increase in 1980 with additional services to be provided.

TABLE 1

FISCAL DATA*

WORLD OF INQUIRY SCHOOL



GENERAL FISCAL DATA FOR WORLD OF INQUIRY SCHOOL (W.I.S.)

*Compiled by research staff at WOIS.

In reviewing the stages of development for WOIS from design to adoption, implementation, and incorporation, its role has evolved from one of an experimental model to an alternative model.

Paraprofessional Staff Members

The paraprofessional movement in Rochester, which began in 1965, received a firm boost from Project Unique during the period from 1967 to 1970. Here, we would classify this as a type II residual effect. Project Unique was used to expand the role of paraprofessionals.

Year	Source of Support
1965-66	Title I, ESEA, "New Careers"
1967-70	Project Unique - Title II ESEA RISE component SPAN component - absorbed people from RISE and New Careers Community Teacher Operation Home Base Teacher Intern Program
1975-76	Peak years: 300-400 paraprofessionals in instructional units, plus 200+ in service roles
1979-80	About 200 in instructional units

A separate union bargaining unit, the Teacher's Aid Associates of Rochester, was established for paraprofessional staff members as part of the Rochester Teachers Association.

In discussing residual effects of Project Unique, the chief administrator for paraprofessional programs, Aileen Rush, cited the patterns and levels of training and the utilization of community people as role-model educators.[5] She considers these to be two important residual effects. Structural residuals include the following items:

(1) a new bargaining unit;
(2) new job descriptions for "Educational Associates" developed by staff and approved by civil service; and
(3) a new training program--five years, leading to elementary teacher certification.

The Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program

A consortium of schools, led by West Irondequoit and including Brighton, Brockport, Penfield, Pittsford, and Wheatland-Chili, plus 13 private schools, now constitutes the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program. For 1977-78, the federal government was supporting the program through funds from the Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII. The program had requested $1,756,070 and received $1,713,000.

Recently, the program has moved toward expansion, from 800 to almost 1600 students. In addition, expansion is planned in enrollment for the Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education at State University College at Brockport. It is a magnet-type, voluntary campus school. The balance should be about 60 percent nonminority and 40 percent minority. The school was influenced by the earlier World of Inquiry School model of integrated education.

The clearest indication of the role of Project Unique in expanding and extending the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program can be seen in table 2. Comparing pupil enrollment and funding figures before, during, and after Project Unique, indicates that participation in the Project Unique effort produced a multiplier effect. Enrollment increased from 24 students in 1965-66 to 618 students in 1970-71. This is a case of a type II residual. The Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program of Project Unique was a key component in the 15-point plan adopted by the Rochester Board of Education to reduce racial imbalance on March 16, 1967.

The creation of an innovative, integrated urban-suburban campus school by the State University College at Brockport represented another interesting residual effect. To what degree was it modeled after the World of Inquiry School? It was established in 1966. In 1976, the name of the Brockport Campus School was changed to Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education. For 1977-78, it was proposed that this school be expanded from 208 to 340 children. As WOIS was considered a microcosm of integrated urban education, so too the Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education is considered a microcosm of the county. Both are exemplary models of quality, integrated education. According to Norman Gross, the director of the Urban-Suburban Program, the Brockport Campus School was influenced by the original World of Inquiry School. The specific aspects of this influence are examined in the separate case study on the program. [6]

Establishing the Rochester Education Foundation and Incorporating Project Unique: Strategies for Survival

One of the most interesting residual effects of the whole Project Unique enterprise is the nonprofit educational corporation called Project Unique, Incorporated (PUI). Provisionally chartered by the New York State Board of Regents in 1969, PUI was granted an absolute charter three years later.

The purposes for which the corporation was formed were:

(1) To continue the aims and goals of Project Unique as contained in the various program components, specifically mentioning WOIS;

Table 2

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding
1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
West Irondequoit	24	49	64	74
Brighton		57	57	60
Brockport Campus		32	80	112
Penfield			2	35
Parochial			11	68
Brockport Central				4
Wheatland-Chili				14
Pittsford				50
Total Number of Pupils	24	138	214	417

Amount Funded	$9,840*	$12,750*	$121,800*	$226,850*
	14,720**	84,623**	85,376**	127,273**
	$24,560	$97,373	$207,176	$354,123
Source of Funding	Title I - ESEA	Title I - ESEA	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)

*Program

**Transportation

Table 2 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
West Irondequoit	87	97	85	85
Brighton	60	97	92	92
Brockport Campus	150	115	67	67
Penfield	45	52	38	38
Parochial	84	91	101	101
Brockport Central	1	--	--	--
Wheatland-Chili	28	41	40	40
Pittsford	100	125	103	102
Total Number of Pupils	555	618	526	525
Amount Funded	\$329,700* 108,400** \$438,100	\$386,775* 166,226** \$553,001	\$365,000* 200,906** \$565,906	\$411,547* 195,524** \$607,071
Source of Funding	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)	State Division of Intercultural Relations: \$280,000; State Urban Education: \$217,000; City School District: \$56,001.	Title III - ESEA: \$310,000; State Urban Education: \$255,906.	Title III - ESEA: \$295,000; State Urban Education: \$312,071.

*Program

**Transportation

Table 2 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
West Irondequoit	101	92	100	138
Brighton	94	89	83	98
Brockport Campus	48	44	45	98
Penfield	64	57	45	47
Parochial	82	146	216	207
Brockport Central	5	6	14	13
Wheatland-Chili	26	26	19	19
Webster	1	--	--	--
Pittsford	122	116	116	123
Metropolitan World of Inquiry	275	275	54	--
Total Number of Pupils	818	851	692	743

	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
Amount Funded	$1,795,340* 406,147** $2,201,487	$1,568,879* 447,944** $2,016,823	$488,011* 300,000** $788,011	$861,177* 300,000** $1,161,177
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA: $1,906,487; Title III - ESEA: $295,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $516,823; Basic: $1,500,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $371,022; Basic: $116,989.	Title VII - ESAA Discretionary

*Program

**Transportation

Table 2 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding
1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80†
West Irondequoit	144	160	179
Brighton	113	122	132
USCIE	214††	186	258
Penfield	50	69	73
Parochial	206	241	267
Rochester Christian School (Penfield)	26	32	21
New Covenant Christian School (Webster)	--	18	20
Brockport Central	18	20	19
Wheatland-Chili	20	37	40
Pittsford	139	171	166
World of Inquiry	2	6	11
Other Rochester city schools	--	--	27
Total Number of Pupils	932	1,062	1,213
Amount Funded	$1,176,781* 300,000** $1,476,781	$1,086,717* 300,000** $1,386,717	$1,713,503* 300,000** 50,000*** $2,063,503
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects

*Program

**Governor's Grant - State

***Supplementary Budget - State

Source: Office of the Urban-Suburban Program

† Enrollment as of January 1, 1980.

†† The figures for this year and subsequent years include both urban and suburban children transported to USCIE (formerly Brockport Campus).

(2) To solicit and collect funds from private and public sources, including foundations, to assure the continued operation of WOIS and other components;

(3) To act as an advisory body to the Rochester Board of Education for the operation of Project Unique;

(4) To cooperate with the Rochester City School District and other school districts to establish schools based on the principles of WOIS;

(5) To aid in the development of inservice programs for school personnel; and

(6) To make educational research data available.[7]

In 1968, Herman Goldberg, William Young, and several staff members began developing strategies to attain a sound financial base for the continuation and eventual institutionalization of Project Unique. They were aware that the general policy of USOE was to fund Title III projects for a three-year period. They were aware of the grant stipulations for PACE (Projects to Advance Creativity in Education) programs:

> Proposals for long-term projects should indicate methods for phasing out federal support over three-year periods for gradual absorption by local or other funding. Since the intent of PACE is to stimulate and assist in the support of innovative and exemplary programs, the phasing out process is essential in order to conserve federal resources for other promising PACE programs.[8]

In preparing for the phasing out of federal Title III funds, several strategies were initiated to retain key components of Project Unique:

(1) To propose the construction of a new, 800-pupil, permanent World of Inquiry School to be supported by the city school district and by tuition payments by suburban parents;

(2) To incorporate Project Unique as a not-for-profit educational research organization;

(3) To establish an educational foundation in Rochester by raising $15,000,000 in private endowment funds:

    (a) Income from these funds would support the continuation of Project Unique;

    (b) Two million dollars in additional funds would be raised and used to construct the permanent World of Inquiry School; and

(4) To conduct a study to determine the feasibility of a fund-raising campaign for Project Unique by hiring Tamblyn and Brown, Inc., of New York City.

Establishing an independent Rochester Educational Foundation was an interesting spinoff innovation of Project Unique. During the Tamblyn and Brown study, the city school district leadership realized that its plans were somewhat too ambitious. Its goal was later lowered to about a total of $2-3 million. Even this figure was proven to be overly ambitious.

Tamblyn and Brown, Inc., conducted seventy interviews in its study. Forty of those interviewed were from the very top echelons of management in the economy and from foundations, as well as philanthropically involved individuals. The remaining thirty interviews were with professionals and parents in the field of education in Rochester or in the suburbs in Monroe County.

In the interviews, the following questions were asked:

(1) Are you aware of Project Unique's

  (a) Center for Cooperative Action;
  (b) World of Inquiry School;
  (c) Community Teacher Program;
  (d) Urban-Suburban Cooperation;
  (e) SPAN (School Parent Advisors for the Neighborhood);
  (f) Community Resources Office;
  (g) Division of Career Development?

(2) If Project Unique is to continue after the termination of the grant of federal funds in June 1970, it must be supported by alternate funding, chiefly voluntary giving. Do you believe Project Unique to be a desirable program?

(3) Is Project Unique a likely candidate of private support?

(4) Would you contribute to it?

(5) Would you be willing to work for Project Unique in toto?

(6) In early interviews, individuals have been much more aware of the World of Inquiry School than of the other facets of Project Unique, and the substantial majority thought it to be a very desirable program. If the World of Inquiry is to be maintained, there are two approaches to the problem. In the opinion of the professional educators, in order to be truly influential on the entire city-county school system, it would be eventually necessary to expand the present enrollment of 200 to 800 students. Eventually, this would mean a cost of about $2 million for capital construction and $700,000 per annum for student support. In your opinion, has the school

reached this stage?

(7) If not, would you consider it valuable to privately continue the school as it now is for several more years until it has further demonstrated its worth? This would eliminate the capital figure of $2 million and reduce the subsidy figure to approximately $300,000, annually.

(8) If yes, would you recommend an endowment fund of $6 million to accomplish this? Or would an annual giving program of $300,000 be preferable?

(9) Should a separate, nongovernmental instrument (foundation, trust) be established to raise and administer these funds?

(10) Would you contribute to this project?

(11) Would you work for this project?[9]

The findings indicated that the top leadership in the Rochester area was aware of Project Unique. According to Tamblyn and Brown, "Beyond any doubt, the media of the community have been of invaluable assistance in bringing to the population an awareness of Project Unique." Of the many components of Project Unique, only the World of Inquiry School was sufficiently understood. Half of those interviewed thought that WOIS might even be successful in securing private support. However, "none of the leadership expressed any confidence that sufficient funds could be raised to continue Project Unique at its present level of financial operations."

In its conclusions, Tamblyn and Brown suggested that more participation and more involvement by the top leadership in Rochester was necessary to secure private support. Several persons interviewed stated that "there is little if any precedent in the Rochester-Monroe County area for private support of programs that, traditionally, have been the responsibility of government bodies." It was recommended that, prior to launching a fund-raising campaign, an indepth evaluation of Project Unique should be done by a committee of qualified representatives of industry, commerce, and professions. Findings should be widely disseminated through a well-planned, public-relations effort, using the public media and personal involvement by the leaders of Project Unique.

Apparently, prior to the completion of the feasibility study, William Young, Al Mellican, and Raymond Iman developed a formal presentation highlighting the philosophy of Project Unique, its potential for change in urban education, and its role as a model for urban centers. They met with over 100 local businesses and industries with their "travelling road show" to obtain contributions for a fund for Project Unique.

To legally solicit and receive funds, Project Unique had to become a "legal body." Thus, Young suggested to the advisory committee that it should obtain a charter from the New York State Board of Regents. Young worked through the New York State Department of Education to obtain a provisional charter from the Board of Regents. He received particularly useful assistance from Helen Powers, one of the Regents who lived in Rochester, even though she was not personally fully supportive of all the ideas contained in the Project Unique concept. The Rochester Board of Education also passed a resolution of approval for the incorporation procedure. The core group of the new Board of Trustees of Project Unique, Inc., had formerly been members of the Community Resources Council and the advisory committee. William Green, an attorney with SYBRON Corporation, was added to the board and became the first board chairman. He was actively involved in soliciting private contributions for Project Unique, Inc. In comparing the charter group of 1969 with the trustees in 1979, only William Pugh, administrator of the World of Inquiry School, is listed with both groups (see figure 4).

Superintendent Goldberg believed that Project Unique "should stand on its own feet."[10] He felt that incorporation would bring added prestige to the organization. This prestige would make it easier to attract important community leaders to serve on the board. In turn, PUI, as a legal body, would raise its own funds from nonpublic sources. Young and Goldberg believed that these funds could then be used to fight for desegregation and to promote activities in a positive way, thus avoiding court suits. In reflecting recently on the role of PUI, Goldberg stated that he did not see it beyond the task at hand. He did not see it as a conduit for new funds to run its own projects. From 1976 to 1979, however, PUI did precisely this by sponsoring Artists-in-Residence.

What is the current role of Project Unique, Incorporated? It appears to this case writer that PUI is in a stage of reformulation. Its role, objectives, and very purpose are unclear. Should the board redefine its purpose? Should it be terminated? Is there a purpose for PUI today?

During the period from 1974 to 1980, Project Unique, Incorporated, was an organization in search of a purpose. In 1974, the World of Inquiry School was institutionalized within the Rochester City School District budget (see figure 5). In 1973, PUI had received a grant from the Emergency School Assistance Act to operate an innovative bilingual program and teacher center at WOIS. It was ironic that PUI received the grant because the city school district itself had been ruled as not in compliance with ESAA regulations. Its $1.6 million grant was held up by the courts on legal technicalities.

As mentioned above, the school district leadership under Goldberg had very ambitious plans for Project Unique. Although Tamblyn and Brown was skeptical of the success of any fund-raising campaign, the Project Unique supporters went ahead with their "travelling road show."

The minutes of the fund-raising committee of Project Unique for August 7, 1970, indicate that the total raised was about $75,000, with

FIGURE 4

COMPARISON OF PROJECT UNIQUE
BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR 1969 AND 1979

1969 (Charter Members)	1979
William Cotton	Sanford Shapiro, President
Charles Frazier	Lyman Bement, Vice President
William Fullagar	Harvey Granite, Treasurer
Herman R. Goldberg	Jacqueline Chapman, Secretary
Clement Hapeman	Harry Lesher
Lloyd Hurst	Archie Curry
Raymond Iman	Marie DeJesus
Jessie James	Nathan Lyons
Lawrence Klepper	William Hall
Albert Mellican	Warren Heiligman
Carolyn Micklem	Leardrew Johnson
William Pugh	Norman Gross
Gloria Ramos	Margaret McCrory
Mary Anna Towler	William Pugh
Andrew Virgilio	Samuel McCree
William C. Young	George Rentsch
Rolf Zerges	Donald Reiff
	Corine Wilson

FIGURE 5

LIFE CYCLE OF PROJECT UNIQUE

1963-65	Problem/Issue Identification and Formulation: Rochester city schools are racially imbalanced. Innovative approaches are needed to reduce racial imbalance and to improve urban education.
1965-67	Genesis of Project Unique: Design stage - broad-based community involvement; Summer Community Resources Workshop; USOE approves Title III Planning Grant.
1967-70	Implementation of Project Unique and Its Nine Components: USOE approves use of Title III funds for three years at about $1.5 million per year.
1970-74	Stabilization Period: Routinization stage. World of Inquiry receives grants from Rockefeller Foundation, National Science Foundation, and winning local school district support.
1974-78	Dormant Period for Project Unique, Incorporated: Assisted in sponsoring Artists-in-Residence Program with city school district. Expanded with CETA funds in 1977.(See appendix B for detailed summary.)
1979-80	Reformulation Stage and/or Termination of Project Unique, Inc.: Kehoe and Granite establish separate administrative structure for PUI, independent of school district. New proposals prepared for funding.

parents raising $6,034. In 1972, assets reached $83,204. By 1978, the assets had stabilized to around $55,000. Thus, PUI did not have a sound financial base to support even modest innovative programs. After CCAUE was dissolved, PUI was directed by Harvey Granite. Eleanor Peck was named project assistant and was paid from PUI funds. She stated in 1974, "We are continuing to see funds for new programs that will add diversity and improve quality of education in city schools." Project Unique, Incorporated. existed on paper and in its periodic board of trustees meetings. In essence, it was maintained chiefly by city school district administrative personnel. Without its modest assets, it might have been terminated in 1974-75. It was hardly meeting the ambitious objectives set for it in the original charter.

One of the important residual effects was the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School which opened in 1973 and closed in 1976. It was modeled after the original WOIS and is examined in more detail in a separate case study as part of this overall report.

In 1974, several proposals were prepared, with PUI as the sponsor:

(1) A 1974 ESAA proposal to continue the 1973 grant and strengthen the bilingual portion. This proposal was not funded.

(2) A proposal for curriculum enrichment through performing arts groups and visiting craftsmen. This has been funded continuously since 1975.

(3) A vocational education proposal for careers in radio and television. This was first funded as a WEEA program and later as a vocational education program.

(4) A proposal to fund PUI as an innovative part of the city school system.

None was funded sufficiently to revitalize Project Unique, Incorporated. Throughout this period, however, the corporation received grants in support of Artists-in-Residence from the New York State Foundation of the Arts, the National Endowment for the Arts, City-County Youth Board, SYBRON Corporation, AFTRA, CETA, and Community Development.

From 1975 to about 1978, PUI was fairly dormant. A number of board meetings were held, but attendance by trustees was poor. The only project that was operating under PUI sponsorship was the Artists-in-Residence Program. Many more proposals were submitted by Granite's office to get PUI back into high gear.

On December 18, 1978, Harvey Granite issued a "Call to Action" memorandum to all members of the PUI Board of Trustees. In the memo, he summarized proposals pending for a CETA grant to expand the residencies in the arts program, for a project under the Women's Education Equity Act, for a revised Ethnic Heritage project, and for a grant from the National Science Foundation to provide special education for handicapped children in science careers. Granite stated, "We lack the administrative structure necessary if we expect to work closely with the board of trustees and with the programs we hope to get funded." He suggested the establishment of an organizational infrastructure, "more businesslike procedures," distinct from the city school district. Concluding the memo, he argued:

> I believe that there are hundreds of thousands of dollars in grant money available to nonprofit organizations like Unique which could help WIS and other schools in the Rochester area. To get those funds, we need a solidly structured organization. The alternative is to pay our assets out in a year or two and disappear.[11]

To revitalize PUI, Granite proposed, in a modest budget, to hire a part-time associate director to seek federal grants. In addition, a Planning and Program Committee was formed to reformulate goals and objectives for Project Unique. The board of trustees agreed to allocate about $12,000 from the interest of its funds to cover salary, travel, and supplies. A number of strategies have been examined to rejuvenate Project Unique:

(1) a publicity campaign;
(2) a membership campaign;
(3) another ESAA proposal based on WOIS as a magnet school;
(4) establishment of a Project Unique, Incorporated, office at 810 University, separate from the Rochester City School District administrative offices;
(5) seminars on selected topics; and
(6) a workshop on grantsmanship.

Basically, the approach is to "get Unique back into the public eye." In 1980, the future looks considerably brighter for Project Unique than it did in 1975.

In spring 1979, Diane Kehoe Burns, the new associate director of Project Unique, Incorporated, and a member of the city school district staff, established an administrative structure for PUI to begin operating independently of the school district. PUI now has its own office, files, bookkeeping system, and partial staff support.

The revitalization of PUI includes an extensive round of meetings with the representatives of the Rochester Institute of Technology, Nazareth College, various departments of the Rochester City School District, the University of Rochester, Eastman House, Education Resource Network, Inc., Citizens for Quality Desegregated Schools, the federal Department of Education, and various parent groups.

Diane Kehoe Burns, Harvey Granite, and their staff have been preparing numerous proposals to be operated through PUI. These include a proposal to the National Institute of Education for an evaluative study of "the effect of the World of Inquiry School on the education of urban children by conducting a survey of the school's 500 graduates, their parents, and their teachers and, with these results, to continue providing quality educational services to children enrolled in alternative schools."[12] In addition, other proposals have been prepared for submission to ESAA in spring 1980.

Diane Kehoe Burns has planned a number of program development activities to move PUI into a more active role. These include a series of Grants Workshops, a PUI membership drive campaign, and planning efforts for long-range funding for PUI and WOIS. These activities may, in part, assist PUI to reformulate its purpose and role within the Rochester City School District.

Conclusions and Observations

This case study attempts to examine and analyze the design, adoption, implementation, routinization, institutionalization, and residual effects of a large-scale, federally funded set of innovations called "Project Unique." In our previous research, we described the bureaucratic strategies employed by a local school district in managing a set of innovations. The adoption and implementation of Project Unique required a coalition of actors and organizations linking their various interests to overcome specific organizational and institutional barriers. Our decision-making process model identified a "minimal winning coalition" or "utilization coalition" consisting of adopters, implementers, clients, and suppliers. These are often linked by a fifth role: entrepreneur (an action-forcing role at the local level).

A coalition may be defined as a type of interorganizational coordination in which two or more organizations pool a share of their resources to mutually attain some desired objective. A particular issue, problem, or opportunity may serve to interest several "adopters" to interact and concert their decision-making. They usually set up an interaction process.[13]

If one uses the actual "pooling of resources" by two or more organizations as an empirical indicator of a beginning coalition, then this activity was documented in Rochester during the early part of the PUI life cycle. PUI was an outcome of a cooperative planning effort from the very beginning (in 1964-65) with the following "planners/adopters": Herman Goldberg assigned Walter Lifton of the Rochester City School District for one-half time on the planning effort, plus contributing eight other staff members; William Fullagar appointed Dean Corrigan for one-half time as visiting professor to the school district; Eastman Kodak donated the services of a full-time research scientist, Keith Whitmore; and the Industrial Management Council contributed funds ($8,000) for consultant services. This group was formed by Goldberg and Fullagar to begin the interaction process to develop a cooperative project involving a wide range of community resources. This represented a pooling or sharing of scarce resources prior to the application for an initial Title III planning grant.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1963-1979

PROJECT UNIQUE
TIME FRAME

DATE	EVENT
1963	Herman Goldberg named superintendent of Rochester city schools. New York State Commissioner of Education Dr. James B. Allen, Jr., requests statement on racial imbalance in Rochester city schools by September 1.
1964	Summer: civil disturbances in central city Rochester. Fall: initial planning meetings between school superintendent, state officials, and faculty of University of Rochester to develop a cooperative project on urban education.
1965	Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program established between West Irondequoit and Rochester city schools. January: first public announcement of the plan for the Center for Cooperative Action in Urban Education (CCAUE) and a World of Work demonstration school. November: Rochester Board of Education approves proposal for Title III planning grant.
1966	Summer: Community Resources Workshop held--basis for CCAUE. Dr. Elliot Shapiro appointed to direct the planning team. USOE approves Title III planning grant.
1967	January 15: submission to USOE of first proposal for Project Unique. May: USOE approves proposal; William C. Young appointed director of Project Unique.
1968	USOE approval of second-year funding for Project Unique
1969	USOE approves third-year funding for Project Unique. September: Project Unique receives provisional charter from New York Board of Regents as a nonprofit corporation. Tamblyn and Brown complete feasibility study on fund raising.
1970	Rockefeller Foundation grant to the World of Inquiry School for $120,000 to be matched by local funds for 1970-72. William C. Young resigns; Raymond S. Iman appointed director of Project Unique.

1971	Dr. Herman Goldberg resigns as superintendent of schools. Dr. John Franco is appointed superintendent. Dr. Harvey Granite is appointed director of Project Unique.
1972	National Science Foundation awards three-year grant.
1973	Project Unique, Inc., granted absolute charter by New York State Board of Regents (see appendix A for charter draft). Emergency School Assistance Act grant received. Metropolitan World of Inquiry School opens.
1974	World of Inquiry School institutionalized within Rochester City School District budget. Ms. Eleanor Peck is appointed Project assistant.
1974	Project Unique, Inc., begins support for Artists-in-Residence Program (see appendix B for summary of activities, 1975-78).
1976	Metropolitan World of Inquiry School is closed.
1976-77	Many proposals prepared but not funded, with Project Unique, Inc., as sponsor.
1978	"Call to Action" memo from Dr. Harvey Granite to the Board of Trustees of Project Unique, Inc. Revitalization process begun to reformulate goals and objectives of Project Unique.
1979	Project Unique, Inc., opens separate office. Ms. Diana Kehoe Burns is appointed associate director. New proposals developed to reactivate Project Unique.

External stimuli in the mid-1960s included: the official request from New York State Commissioner Allen; civil disturbances; and the availability of federal planning funds. These may have served as catalysts for action when combined with the personal and public goals of the chief actors: the school district administrators and the University of Rochester faculty. The search for solutions involved a wide variety of additional activities on the part of the following: Norman Kurland of the State Center on Innovation; members of the Genesee Valley School Development Association; staff from Xerox and Graphlex Corporations; Elliott Shapiro, as head of the planning team; local business leaders of the Industrial Management Council; the Monroe County School Boards Association; staff of the Rochester Museum of Science; and faculty from private and parochial school systems.

Many of the planners/adopters moved into the role of implementer as the federal Title III grant was implemented from 1967 to 1970: William Pugh, as administrator of WOIS; Norman Gross of Project US; Ray Iman, who succeeded Young as director of Project Unique in 1970; and many other involved citizens. Thus, from the initial coalition, a larger group developed with broader community representation. Evidence that Project Unique was a cooperative effort, not just a rubber-stamp process, can be found in the development of the demonstration elementary school. Initially, it was presented by Goldberg as a "World of Work School," with heavy emphasis on the values, attitudes, and economic concepts involved in notions of work. Between 1965 and 1967, this idea changed into a World of Inquiry School through the efforts of many members of the planning coalition. In fact, one school board member, Bickal, was concerned about these changes and expressed his reservations at board meetings.

During the implementation phase, 1967-1970, membership changed in the coalition for Project Unique. Dean Corrigan, a member of the initial coalition, returned to teaching at the University of Rochester. Elliott Shapiro returned to school administration in New York City. New members of the coalition included: William Young; Norman Gross; William Pugh; Ray Iman; Albert Mellican; the WOIS Parent's Steering Committee; the Community Resources Council; William Lee, president of Sibley's; Harvey Granite; and many more people and groups that played important roles in the efforts to continue and institutionalize key components of Project Unique.

The analysis of Project Unique, both for the National Science Foundation and for the National Institute of Education, provided data on a set of educational innovations at each of several decision-making stages: problem formulation, design, adoption, implementation, stabilization, and institutionalization. In addition, data was gathered on the residual effects. Thus, the case spans a period from 1965 to 1979. In the period between the termination of federal funding in June 1970 and the inclusion of the World of Inquiry School into the Rochester City School District budget in 1974, the funding for Project Unique was very unstable. Short-term grants were obtained from several private sources, including the Rockefeller Foundation, the

National Science Foundation, local industry and organizations, and the U. S. Office of Education. During this time, community and staff support was sustained until eventual institutionalization. This testing period appears to be a sort of "stabilization phase." If WOIS had faltered or had lost a significant degree of support or interest, would it have ever stabilized? After passing through the interim phase, the World of Inquiry School was eventually institutionalized into the operating school district budget. What remained from 1974 to the present was the mechanism called Project Unique, Incorporated.

The experience of Project Unique supports the hypothesis that innovation is dependent, in part, upon the capacity of local entrepreneurs to develop coalitions of sufficient strength to overcome various organizational and institutional barriers.

As the plan for Project Unique developed, it contained several types of innovations: new organizational structures; new mixes of clients; new sources of funding for programming; new administrative arrangements; technological hardware for the classroom; unusual settings for instruction; and new professional and paraprofessional roles. For most of these innovations, outside funding from Title III was obtained. From 1965 to 1971, the administrative entrepreneurs used several strategies to demonstrate the value of these innovations: Sibley's downtown Satellite School; national exposure on NBC's Today Show; newsletters; extensive public relations efforts; and the World of Inquiry model school. Many of these components were used to build a coalition of support through "mini-decisions" that would facilitate the bigger decisions (i.e., racial integration and the adoption of educational innovations at the district level). Project Unique originally was designed to demonstrate that racially balanced, educational programs can work successfully. From 1974 to the present, Project Unique, Incorporated, has pursued far less ambitious objectives. It appears to have shifted its focus from facilitating bigger decisions to sponsoring less controversial educational projects. In recent years, PUI seems less certain about its role and purpose in relation to the Rochester City School District.

In the period from 1965 to 1971, the role of entrepreneur appeared to be played by several actors, but chiefly by Superintendent of Schools Herman Goldberg and Project Unique Director William Young. Here, the management style of the entrepreneur may be an important variable. In Rochester, Superintendent Goldberg characterized himself as an incrementalist, as being aware of the public relations impact and the role of the media, and as goal-oriented. Both of these men were keenly aware of the need for building coalitions and encouraging broad-based representation in most phases of the project's development and implementation. They felt that they and their staff members made personal linkages with major corporations, universities, the media, state agencies, and federal officials to facilitate the implementation of the project. From the result of personal interviews, the superintendent appeared to see his role as a change agent, but not for change per se. He viewed change as a process of incremental, deliberate steps to provide a sense of continuity of services. Goldberg saw Project Unique as a series of steps in itself, yet a very visible part of a larger process of achieving racial balance in the schools. William Young, the director of Project Unique from 1967 to 1970, saw the need to focus on racial balance among staff and clients served by the training components of Project Unique. The schools were imbalanced with regard to faculty as well as students. Young also developed an incremental strategy for building support with local industries for eventually continuing Project Unique after federal funds terminated.

From 1971 to the present, Project Unique has not had the top-level support that it received under Superintendent Goldberg. After Goldberg resigned, John Franco was named superintendent. In dealing with other higher priority concerns, Franco has not envisioned the same role for Project Unique as had Goldberg. Project Unique was moved farther down in the district organization charts from 1971 to the present. The role of entrepreneur was played by Harvey Granite, by Eleanor Peck, and, most recently, by Diane Kehoe Burns.

In interviews conducted in Rochester from fall 1976 to winter 1979-80, data indicate a general lowering of expectations for what Project Unique can accomplish. During the 1960s and early 1970s, innovation was in the air. There was a higher level of excitement, a greater degree of involvement and participation in all activities related to Project Unique. Whether Project Unique, Incorporated, can be revitalized is an open question at present. It exists as a residual of a once-active, large-scale, innovative project. Where will it go? What should it do? What are its options?

The current entrepreneurs, namely Diane Kehoe Burns and Harvey Granite, have been exploring most or all of the following options:

(a) Reformulate a work plan based on one or two particular charter objectives, as adopted in 1969;

(b) Identify new program areas and obtain new funding through proposal development;

(c) Return to role as trustee of WOIS;

(d) Conduct comprehensive self-evaluation to set new general goals--strategic planning approach with broad participation;

(e) "String along" waiting for something to "catch on" and revitalize PUI;

(f) Terminate PUI and close accounts;

(g) Explore with staff members of the Department of Education the various uses of an organizational mechanism such as PUI (nonprofit corporation); data from National Diffusion Network (NDW) may be useful;

(h) Merge with other independent groups to form a stronger coalition for desegregation.

The future of Project Unique, Incorporated, is uncertain. Perhaps one of these options will successfully bring new life to this project. If our central hypothesis is correct, then the revitalization of Project Unique is dependent, in part, upon the capacity of local entrepreneurs to develop coalitions of sufficient strength to overcome various organizational institutional barriers.

NOTES

1. William Young, Project Unique: Summary of Evaluation, 1969-70. Prepared for U. S. DHEW, Office of Education, July 1970.

2. Statistical data was summarized from the "Basic Proposal of the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program," 1977-78.

3. The Times-Union, November 10, 1975.

4. "The Permanent World of Inquiry School, Report and Recommendations of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education," February 1969.

5. Interview with Aileen Rush, July 1979.

6. See Elma B. Boyko, "Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education," volume II of this report.

7. Summarized from the "Provisional Charter Granted by the New York State Board of Regents to Project Unique," September 26, 1969.

8. Manual for Project Applicants "Grant Considerations," USDHEW, Office of Education, p. 9.

9. "A Survey of the Fund-Raising Potential of Project Unique, Rochester, New York," submitted by Tamblyn and Brown, Inc., New York, N.Y., December 1969.

10. Interview with H. Goldberg, now serving as Associate Commissioner, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, Office of Education, USDHEW, August 2, 1979.

11. Memorandum from Harvey Granite to the Board of Trustees of Project Unique, Incorporated, December 18, 1978.

12. Abstract of the proposal to NIE by Project Unique, Incorporated.

13. Roland L. Warren, Stephen M. Rose, and Ann F. Bergunder, The Structure of Urban Reform (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974).

APPENDIX A

PROVISIONAL CHARTER GRANTED
BY NEW YORK STATE BOARD OF REGENTS

PROJECT UNIQUE. An application having been made by and on behalf of the trustees of Project Unique, Rochester, that its provisional charter be made absolute, and it appearing that the conditions for an absolute charter have been met, it was

VOTED, That the provisional charter of Project Unique, located in the City of Rochester, county of Monroe, State of New York, which was granted by the Board of Regents on September 26,1969, be and the same hereby made absolute.

PROVISIONAL CHARTER GRANTED BY NEW YORK STATE BOARD OF REGENTS

PROJECT UNIQUE. Voted, That

1. A provisional charter, valid for a term of 3 years, is granted incorporating William Cotton, Charles Frazier, William Fullager, Herman Goldberg, Clement Hapeman, Lloyd Hurst, Raymond Iman, Jessie James, Lawrence Klepper, Albert Mellican, Carolyn Micklem, William Pugh, Gloria Ramos, Mary Anna Towler, Andrew Virgilio, William C. Young, and Rolf Zerges and their associates and successors as an educational corporation under the corporate name of Project Unique, to be located in the City of Rochester, County of Monroe, State of New York.

2. The purposes for which such corporation is to be formed are:

a. To continue the following aims and goals of Project Unique, a federally funded program originally established under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 under the sponsorship of the City School District of Rochester, New York, and the College of Education of the University of Rochester.

1. Establish the World of Inquiry School, a non-graded integrated school that is experimenting with new techniques in elementary education with a student population from the inner city, outer city and suburbs.
2. Establish a model classroom in a downtown department store where residents of metropolitan Rochester are able to observe innovative practices presently used in the schools in the greater Rochester area.
3. Help reduce de facto segregation in city schools and help eliminate racial isolation in suburban schools.
4. Improve communications between the parent and the school and increase parent interest in public education.

5. Provide early childhood education for inner city pre-school children that will help them adjust to and succeed in a formal school environment.

6. Involve all segments of the community (e.g. business, industry, social agencies, civil rights groups, etc.) in public education.

7. Experiment to improve the professional preparation of teachers who are planning to teach in the inner city.

8. Provide opportunities for adults to continue their education both at the secondary and post-secondary levels using volunteer instructors.

9. Coordinate and supervise all the above activities.

b. To solicit and collect funds from private and public sources, including foundations, which shall be donated to the City School District of Rochester, New York, to assure the continued operation of the World of Inquiry School and other elements of Project Unique.

c. To act, through the trustees of said corporation, as an advisory board to the Rochester Board of Education for the operation of Project Unique.

d. To cooperate with the City School District and other school districts to establish other schools based upon the principles of the World of Inquiry School.

e. To aid in the development of in-service programs for school personnel.

f. To make educational research data available.

3. The persons named as incorporators shall constitute the first board of trustees. The board shall have the power

to adopt by-laws, including therein provisions fixing the method of election and the term of office of trustees, and shall have power also, by vote of two-thirds of all the members of the board of trustees, to change the number of trustees to be not more than 25 nor less than 5.

4. The corporation hereby created shall be a nonstock corporation organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes, and no part of its earnings or net income shall inure to the benefit of any individual, and no officer, member, or employee of the corporation shall receive or be entitled to receive any pecuniary profit from the operations thereof, except reasonable compensation for services.

5. The principal office of the corporation is to be located in the City of Rochester, County of Monroe, State of New York.

6. The Commissioner of Education is designated as the representative of the corporation upon whom process in any action or proceeding against it may be served.

7. Such provisional charter will be made absolute if, within 3 years, the corporation shall acquire resources and equipment available for its use and support and sufficient and suitable for its chartered purposes in the judgment of the Regents of the University, and be maintaining an institution of educational usefulness and character satisfactory to them. Prior to the expiration of said 3-year period, an application for the renewal of such provisional

charter or for an absolute charter will be entertained by the Regents, but, in the event that such application is not made, then at the expiration of said term of 3 years such provisional charter shall terminate and become void and shall be surrendered to the Regents.

September 26, 1969

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF ARTISTS-IN-RESIDENCE PROGRAMS

PROJECT U.N.I.Q.U.E., INC.

November 30, 1978

Summary of Artists-in-Residence Programs*

March 1975 - June 1978

March 1975 - June 1975

(1) 5, 3-week NEA residencies in photography, pottery, ceramics, and metal sculpture.

(2) 28 short residencies (generally 4, ½ days) in various performing and visual arts

(3) 6 performances and lecture/demonstrations (4 music, 1 puppetry, 1 dance)

September 1975 - June 1976

(1) 48 performing and visual arts residencies of varying lengths (4, ½ days - 3 months) - including-
  a. 2, 3-month NEA feeder pattern residencies in pottery and in painting
  b. 1 feeder pattern opera program of workshops and a performance for 5 schools
  c. 1 residency combining drama, poetry, dance
  d. 1 program of ethnic musicology for physics classes

(2) 95 performances, workshops, demonstrations in visual and performing arts

(3) 5 city-wide inservice workshops
  a. English Department interdisciplinary use of theater techniques in developing communication skills
  b. Learning Resources Department - role of the librarian in the Artists-in-Residence Program
  c. Learning Disabilities Department - classroom projects for skill development of the learning disabled teenager
  d. Science - "Psychedelic physics" (music)
  e. Project Triad - visual perception
  Plus inservice through the two NEA feeder pattern residencies

September 1976 - June 1977

(1) 22 residencies - generally of longer duration than the previous year and with more specific educational objectives - please see attached description of extended residencies

(2) 59 performances, workshops, demonstrations

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Programs

May 1977 - June 1978

(1) Twelve -month CETA project employing 9 artists and 1 assistant full-time in 8 schools and 8 community agencies to explore the educational and recreational aspects of dance, drama, photography, painting, video, music, creative writing

(2) 70 musical performances in 35 schools

(3) 2 feeder pattern opera programs on voice development, choregraphy, make-up and general opera introduction.

(4) Approximately 18 short residencies and performances.

- Between March 1975 and June 1978, programming has been implemented in 57 schools of the Rochester City School District.

- The Visual Studies Workshop is joining the Artists-in-Residence Program in implementing a CETA Project - December 1978 - July 1979. Nine artists will be hired to develop curriculum modules in science, social studies, and Special Education through dance, media, music and the written word.

* All programs have been designed and implemented by Karin Wieder with assistance from the artistic community and educators in the Rochester City School District.

Extended Residencies

Program	Schools	Artist(s)	Duration
1. "Getting to Know You - Getting to Know All About You" Mini-Grant to break cultural stereotypes through universal medium of dance	Monroe Feeder Pattern	Elizabeth Clark David Valentine	October 18 - December 14 (once weekly)
2. Photoprintmaking residency for experiences in constructions, imaging, visual bookmaking, and silk-screening	Native American students-meet at School #5	Deborah Flynn	October 6 - February 16 (once weekly)
3. NEA residency to develop an awareness of sculpture as a medium for a working artist and as a tool for curriculum studies and student self-actualization	Charlotte Feeder Pattern	Eddie Davis	January 17 - June 10 (full-time)
4. "Expressions in Poetry by Hearing - Handicapped Children" Mini-Grant to introduce creativity into manipulation of language	#31 School	Ann Githler	January 20 - April 7 (once weekly)
5. Creative Artists Public Service Program (CAPS) project in multi-media, visual projection: "Wilson of the Past, Present, Future"	Wilson Jr. High	David Willis	March 3 - June 7 (once or twice weekly)

Extended Residencies (Cont'd.)

Program	Schools	Artist(s)	Duration
6. Kindergarten and pre-Kindergarten residency to explore expressive language, critical and creative thinking through movement and creative dramatics	#26 and #6 Schools	Amy Brill	April 18 - April 29, May 9 - May 13 (3 times weekly)
7. Movement residency with total body language approach for non-verbal trainable students to study appropriate behavior with objects, body functions, spatial relationships	#52 School	Jacqueline Davis	April 21 - May 20 (twice weekly)

PROJECT U.N.I.Q.U.E., INC.

Artists-in-Residence Program

August, 1979

1978-79 Artists-in-Residence Review

I. Programs

Over 22,000 students in the Rochester City School District were involved in Artists-in-Residence activities during the year. Between the "AREA" Project and the Arthur Scheller "Hansel and Gretel Days" alone, 3,876 children participated in hands-on workshops and 7,400 students took part in puppetry and dance performances, while approximately 10,000 students enjoyed music through the Music Performance Trust Fund groups. The following lists some programmatic activities and accomplishments.

A. Through the "AREA" Project, which was conducted in affiliation with the Visual Studies Workshop and Elizabeth Clark, the Artists-in-Residence Program had 9 artists working full-time December 18, 1978 - July 13, 1979. Activities of the C.E.T.A. project included:

1. 12 ten-week dance/media residencies in 11 schools (World of Inquiry #2, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16, 17, 33, 34, 36)
2. Gospel music program by G. Banks for regular and Special Ed students in 6 schools (#5, 14, 15, 17, 36, Twixt 3-5 Program
3. 12 "Sharing Events" by "AREA" Project artists and children involved in the ten-week residencies.
4. 10 performances by G. Banks and students in spring concerts in 5 schools (17, 36, 5, 14, 58), 1 performance in a talent show at School #15 and involvement in 3 graduation ceremonies (Twixt 3-5 Program, #15, #36).
5. Development of 6 educational modules demonstrating ways of teaching social studies, science and Special Ed through dance, various visual media, and music.

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6. 1 inservice workshop on the origins and nature of gospel music by G. Banks and 2 students for elementary school vocal teachers of the Rochester City School District.

7. Development and presentation of one informal studio work by "AREA" Project artists for Fairport Teachers (under guidance of J. Emery of VSW).

8. Creation of slide/tape show of the "AREA" project.

9. Preparation and presentation of multi-media show for CETA arts festival-slides with audio cassette, 3 video tapes, 3 mounted photo panels, 1 super-8 film.

10. Production of 6 documentary video tapes prepared by "AREA" Project artists of 10-week residencies and E. Clark dance performance.

11. 12 Elizabeth Clark dance performances (World of Inquiry, #2, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16, 17, 31, 33, 34, 36).

12. 2 Elizabeth Clark dance workshops for teachers and students at School #36; 42 workshops for "AREA" Project artists.

B. The puppeteer Arthur Scheller conducted:

1. 25 "Hansel and Gretel Days" which each included 1 puppetry performance and 3 puppetry construction workshops (Schools #24, 17, World of Inquiry, 4, 15, 2, 19, Follow Through, 14, 36, 21, 9, 11, 27, 25, 8, 6, 13, 23, 30, 20, 22, 9, 29, Pre K Program Twixt 3-5).

2. 1 "Hansel and Gretel" puppetry performance in Midtown Mall.

3. 2 in-service workshops on puppetry construction for teachers in ESAA and elementary education.

C. The Music Performance Trust Fund made possible 76 musical performances in 38 schools by a variety of groups ranging from jazz to folk, country, ethnic, classical. Also, Project Follow-Through sponsored a performance of early American music by Mitzie Collins and School 5, 2 jazz performances by Nate Rawls' "Sound Spectrum."

D. Artists-in-Residence aided the Marshall Feeder Pattern in planning its Arts Festival Week held in May.

E. The following short programs:

School	Artist	Program
44	John Young	Magic performance and workshops
23	Mitzie Collins	½ day of early American music workshops
14	Dr. Hugh Morgan Hill (Brother Blue)	Storytelling presentation and workshop
World or Inquiry	Dr. Hugh Morgan Hill	" " " "
	GeVa	1 performance of "The Goose Girl" and creative dramatics workshops
31	Mime Workshop	1 performance of "Music Phooey"
Project Follow-Through	Almeta Whitis	Movement residency
	Mitzie Collins	Music residency
5	Paul Van Buskirk	Ventriloquism workshops
5	GeVa	Performance of "The Goose Girl" and creative dramatics workshops
5	Gumdrop Dragon Dance Theater Co.	1 performance of "Elsewhere"
Madison	Alvin Aubert	Poetry residency (feeder pattern participation)

II. Budget

Rochester City School District	$10,270.00
Individual Schools of the District	3,586.00
Music Performance Trust Fund	8,000.00
City of Rochester C.E.T.A. Program*	77,616.00
City of Rochester Community Development Program	18,000.00
Total	$117,472.00

*Sponsored through the Arts Council of Rochester, Inc.

APPENDIX C

PROJECT UNIQUE, 1979
PROGRESS REPORT

PROJECT U.N.I.Q.U.E., INC.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

1978 - 1979

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381-9940 (Term: 74-77)

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Home: 1571 East Avenue
Rochester, New York 14610
Bus: 131 West Broad Street
Rochester, New York 14608
325-4560 Ext. 2113

Secretary
Ms. Jacqueline Chapman
Bus: World of Inquiry #58
200 University Avenue
Rochester, New York 14605
325-6170

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Rochester, New York 14560
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Rochester, New York 14605
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200 University Avenue
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325-6738

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235-2209

(716) 442-3780

410 ALEXANDER STREET
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK 14607

PROJECT UNIQUE, INCORPORATED
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Dr. Norman Gross, Director
Bus: Urban-suburban Interdistrict
Transfer Program
Oakview School
2400 Oakview Drive
Rochester, New York 14617
544-8602

Dr. Margaret McCrory
Home: 2123 East Avenue
Rochester, New York 14610
473-7076
Bus: World of Inquiry School #58
200 University Avenue
Rochester, New York 14605
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200 University Avenue
Rochester, New York 14605
325-6170

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663-8299
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SUC at Brockport
Brockport, New York 14420

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Rochester, New York 14610
482-0077
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16 Main Street East
Rochester, New York 14614
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Rochester, New York 14611

EX-OFFICIO

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Home: 201 Goodville Street
Rochester, New York 14615
865-5178
Bus: World of Inquiry School #58
200 University Avenue
Rochester, New York 14605
325-6170 (PARENT)

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Bus: City School District
13 Fitzhugh Street South
325-4560

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Bus: President
Rochester Teachers Association
277 Alexander Street
Rochester, New York 14607
288-4670

Mayor Thomas Ryan
Bus: City Hall
Rochester, New York 14614
454-4000

DIRECTOR

Mr. Harvey R. Granite
Bus: Coordinator
Urban Funded Programs
131 West Broad Street
Rochester, New York 14608

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Ms. Dianne Burns
Bus: Urban Funded Programs
131 West Broad Street
Rochester, New York 14608

PROJECT
U.N.I.Q.U.E.

1979

progress
report

PROJECT U.N.I.Q.U.E., INC.

AGENDA

December 13, 1979

- I. President's Address
- II. Minutes of Previous Meeting
- III. Status Report
  - A. Associate Director's Report
    - 1. Program Development
      - a) City School District
      - b) Outside Agencies
    - 2. Membership Drive
    - 3. Proposed Publications
    - 4. Office Status
    - 5. Future Directives
  - B. Director's Report and Financial Report
  - C. Director of Artists-In-Residence Program Report
- IV. Schedule of Future Meetings

(716) 461-1830

810 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK 14607

PROJECT U.N.I.Q.U.E., INC.

Statement of Intent

Board of Trustees

Up-Date Sheet

We are preparing a file for each member of the Board of Trustees. Please complete the following form and return in the self-addressed envelope.

NAME ______________________________

ORGANIZATION ______________________________

BUSINESS ADDRESS ______________________________

BUSINESS PHONE ______________________________

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HOME PHONE ______________________________

I wish to remain an active member of the Board of Trustees:

_______ YES _______ NO

I would like to remain a member of Project U.N.I.Q.U.E.Inc. but would like to resign from the Board of Trustees:

_______ YES _______ NO

I would be willing to be an active member of the:

Finance Committee _____

Education Committee _____

World of Inquiry School Development Committee _____

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810 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK 14607

PROJECT U.N.I.Q.U.E., INC.

Budget Report

Approved Budget April,1979 to April,1980

Associate Director

½ Year Report May,1979 to October 31,1979

Category	Allocated	Expended	Remaining
Telephone	$ 400.00	$ 218.44	$ 181.56
P.O. Box	27.00	none	27.00
Supplies	800.00	87.46	712.54
Travel	3,000.00	639.00	2,361.00
Postage	300.00	30.00	270.00
Printing	500.00	33.00	467.00
Insurance	900.00	-------	900.00
Accounting	500.00	167.87	332.13
Associate Director	5,625.00	1.762.00	3,863.00
Legal Assistance	200.00	-------	200.00
Totals	$12,252.00	2,937.77	9,314.23
*Moving		140.00	

A full financial report for 1979 is being prepared for the Board of Trustees by Kasdin, Saiger, Elder & Rossman. Current assets as of November, 1979 are:

Artists-in-Residence	$ 615.27
Time Deposit	48,697.31
Regular Savings	948.65
Checking Account	2,958.12
	$53,229.35

On January 2. 1980, it is recommended that $30,000 of this amount be placed in a six month 11.679% interest bearing account - on advice of Marine Midland Bank.

*Request to transfer to insurance

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I

URBAN-SUBURBAN CENTER FOR INNOVATION IN EDUCATION

(Part of the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict
Transfer Program in Rochester/Monroe County)

by

Elma B. Boyko

(Footnotes on p. I-14)

URBAN-SUBURBAN CENTER FOR INNOVATION IN EDUCATION

(Part of the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict
Transfer Program in Rochester/Monroe County)

Project Unique[1] was a large-scale, innovative program designed to reduce racial imbalance and to improve urban education in the City of Rochester, New York. It was funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.[2] As a component of Project Unique, the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP) was to implement and administer programs to reduce racial imbalance in the County of Monroe, including the City of Rochester. One of the first participants in USITP was the Campus School operated by the New York State University College at Brockport. It is now known as the Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education (USCIE).

The Campus School has served as a receiving school for urban minority group children since 1966. Since 1976, the school has taken on a closer identification with USITP as the program has provided not only pay and transportation for those students coming into the school under the USITP program but has also become a provider of substantial funds for the operation of the school itself. The educational approach of this school has been influenced by another component of Project Unique--the World of Inquiry School. The World of Inquiry School was established in the City of Rochester as an early-type magnet school to offer quality, innovative educational opportunities and to foster racial integration by attracting students from the city and various suburban school districts. The Campus School's change of name in 1976 to the Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education was accompanied by an adaptation of the school's educational program to one similar to that of the Rochester World of Inquiry School.

This report examines the interactions between the Campus School and USITP in the decade prior to 1976, as well as the closer relationship that has developed between the two entities since 1976 when the Campus School became USCIE.[3]

Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program

The Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program[4] was one of the major components of Project Unique; its primary purpose was to address the racial imbalance issue by involving the suburban school districts in an interchange of students. This program had two predecessors upon which the concept was based. There was already in existence an Open Enrollment Program within the City of Rochester which allowed urban students to voluntarily attend a school outside their own school district. There were also several suburban school districts which accepted urban students for summer school classes and one suburban school district, West Irondequoit, which, since 1965, had been inviting a selected number of urban elementary children to attend classes during its regular school year. In addition, there had been informal urban-suburban learning experiences in terms of shared class time or of limited student exchanges.

USITP was administered by Norman Gross under the auspices of the Rochester City School District until 1973 when, because of the ineligibility of the school district to act as the Local Educational Agency (LEA), the program was moved to West Irondequoit. USITP was initially funded under ESEA Title III; since 1973, it has been funded under Title VII of the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA).[5] The Campus School began to accept minority students under USITP in 1966, first in a summer school program and then in regular day classes.

Campus School

The Campus School had been serving as an "in-house" setting for the training of elementary teachers whereby the students of Brockport College could participate in actual classroom teaching as a supplement to their course work. The children in the school's K through 9th grades were primarily from the suburban Brockport Central School District and were children whose parents felt that this would be a high-quality educational experience for them.

There had been a long-standing cooperative relationship between the Campus School and the Rochester City School District whereby the school's student teachers were often assigned to city schools, the Campus School's faculty served as consultants to the city, etc. When federal funds became available to support USITP under Project Unique, Gross approached the principal of the Campus School, Andrew Virgilio, and the administrators of the college with the suggestion that the city/Campus School relationship be expanded to allow the Campus School to participate in USITP. It was argued that the lack of minority children in the classrooms meant that the student teachers were not being afforded a "real-world" teaching experience. Since the school was becoming more research oriented, it was also pointed out that groups of all-White students were not representative samples for research purposes. The proposal that the Campus School join USITP came at a time when campus schools nationwide were in the process of reassessing their missions in terms of teacher education, as well as of the extent to which they should provide general service to the community and contribute to research efforts. At Brockport, the educators viewed the Campus School itself as something more than a traditional school and felt that it should be a vehicle for community service. One way of doing that would be to bring to teacher education the dimensions and outlooks most appropriate for preparation to teach in other schools.

The support of the top administrators of the college, including a strong commitment by its president, readily opened the Campus School doors to minority children. In summer 1966, the Campus School invited 75 elementary school pupils from the city and 75 pupils from the

Brockport area to attend summer school together. That fall, 32 elementary minority children attended the Campus School as full-time students. The minority students were brought in at all grade levels (through the 8th grade) rather than concentrating them in the earlier grades and letting them gradually reach the higher grades. The following year, the number of minority students in regular day classes was increased to 80. That same year, the college received a grant under Title IV[6] of the 1964 Civil Rights Act from the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity in the U. S. Office of Education to conduct an institute on desegregation for teachers, school administrators, and school board members. These desegregation institutes were held two or three times in subsequent years, as funding was provided.

The availability of Project Unique funds facilitated an increase in inner-city students in the school from 80 pupils in 1967-68 to 150 in 1969-70 (see table 1). Although the sums that were available to run USITP continued to increase even after the cessation of Title III funding for Project Unique, the numbers of minority students attending the Campus School began to decline, partly as a result of cutbacks in the school's operating funds and partly because of the elimination of the higher grade levels. It was decided that the Campus School could not effectively have a junior high program because of an insufficient number of students at that level. Therefore, the junior high was phased out; the Campus School retained grades K through 6. Those minority children leaving grade 6 returned to city schools to complete their education.

The extent of the Brockport Central School District's association with USITP had been the acceptance of four minority children in its district in the 1968-69 school year and one child in the 1969-70 school year (see table 1). In the early 1970s, Gross initiated a campaign to have Brockport Central School District accept minority children. A high level of community interest was generated by the question of whether Brockport Central should do so or not. The debate polarized the area's residents as emotions were aroused. The educational segment of the community, including the board of education and many college employees who were residents in the community, was generally supportive of Brockport Central's taking minority children, as were church leaders. At one point, Gross threatened to refuse USITP payments to the Campus School, basing his actions on the thesis that the Brockport community benefitted from having the Campus School in its midst but that it refused to share in ensuring an optimal function for the school. After community hearings and much debate, the Brockport Central School District did finally agree to take minority children, but only those students who came out of the Campus School program. School administrators argued that they did not have room for any more students. Unlike most of the suburban school districts in Monroe County which have experienced declining school populations, Brockport Central has maintained a high level of student enrollment. In fact, the Campus School has provided some space for the overflow of children from Brockport Central. These classes have been conducted separately from the integrated Campus School classes.

Table 1

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
West Irondequoit	24	49	64	74
Brighton		57	57	60
Brockport Campus		32	80	112
Penfield			2	35
Parochial			11	68
Brockport Central				4
Wheatland-Chili				14
Pittsford				50
Total Number of Pupils	24	138	214	417
Amount Funded	$9,840* 14,720** $24,560	$12,750* 84,623** $97,373	$121,800* 85,376** $207,176	$226,850* 127,273** $354,123
Source of Funding	Title I - ESEA	Title I - ESEA	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)

*Program

**Transportation

Table 1 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
West Irondequoit	87	97	85	85
Brighton	60	97	92	92
Brockport Campus	150	115	67	67
Penfield	45	52	38	38
Parochial	84	91	101	101
Brockport Central	1	--	--	--
Wheatland-Chili	28	41	40	40
Pittsford	100	125	103	102
Total Number of Pupils	555	618	526	525
Amount Funded	$329,700* 108,400** $438,100	$386,775* 166,226** $553,001	$365,000* 200,906** $565,906	$411,547* 195,524** $607,071
Source of Funding	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)	State Division of Intercultural Relations: $280,000; State Urban Education: $217,000; City School District: $56,001.	Title III - ESEA: $310,000; State Urban Education: $255,906.	Title III - ESEA: $295,000; State Urban Education: $312,071.

*Program

**Transportation

Table 1 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
West Irondequoit	101	92	100	138
Brighton	94	89	83	98
Brockport Campus	48	44	45	98
Penfield	64	57	45	47
Parochial	82	146	216	207
Brockport Central	5	6	14	13
Wheatland-Chili	26	26	19	19
Webster	1	--	--	--
Pittsford	122	116	116	123
Metropolitan World of Inquiry	275	275	54	--
Total Number of Pupils	818	851	692	743
Amount Funded	$1,795,340* 406,147** $2,201,487	$1,568,879* 447,944** $2,016,823	$488,011* 300,000** $788,011	$861,177* 300,000** $1,161,177
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA: $1,906,487; Title III - ESEA: $295,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $516,823; Basic: $1,500,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $371,022; Basic: $116,989.	Title VII - ESAA Discretionary

*Program

**Transportation

Table 1 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding
1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80†
West Irondequoit	144	160	179
Brighton	113	122	132
USCIE	214††	186	258
Penfield	50	69	73
Parochial	206	241	267
Rochester Christian School (Penfield)	26	32	21
New Covenant Christian School (Webster)	--	18	20
Brockport Central	18	20	19
Wheatland-Chili	20	37	40
Pittsford	139	171	166
World of Inquiry	2	6	11
Other Rochester city schools	--	--	27
Total Number of Pupils	932	1,062	1,213
Amount Funded	$1,176,781*	$1,086,717*	$1,713,503*
	300,000**	300,000**	300,000**
			50,000***
	$1,476,781	$1,386,717	$2,063,503
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects

*Program

**Governor's Grant - State

***Supplementary Budget - State

Source: Office of the Urban-Suburban Program

† Enrollment as of January 1, 1980.

†† The figures for this year and subsequent years include both urban and suburban children transported to USCIE (formerly Brockport Campus).

The Brockport Central School District instituted a screening process for these children, requiring parents to write a letter to the Brockport Central School District requesting that their child be allowed to attend the appropriate junior or senior high school there. Beginning with the 1973-74 school year, Brockport Central began to accept minority children from the Campus School, enabling these children to continue through middle and high schools with their classmates.

USCIE

In the mid-1970s, the State University of New York went through another revaluation of the concepts and goals of its campus schools. As a result of this process, in February 1976, the university trustees ordered the closing of its eight remaining campus schools in the state, including the one at Brockport, by August 31, 1976, if possible, and no later than August 31, 1977.[7]

These events at the university coincided with the decline of the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School which had been established with USITP support in 1973. Later, it was disallowed for funding by DHEW and, in 1975-76, was operating with a greatly reduced number of students.[7] Gross' attention had apparently turned to the Campus School as a possibility for establishing a new World of Inquiry School. He had submitted a World of Inquiry application to ESAA for $570,745 for the Campus School. The major portion of that sum ($420,122) was proposed to be used for instruction, $69,470 for a teacher training center, and $1,153 for research.[9] One advantage of the Campus School would be that it would eliminate the need to rent a facility. (The building leased in Webster for the first two years of operation of the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School had cost the program $75,000 per year.)

At the time of the announcement of the closing of the campus schools, Gross went back to the administrators of the college and proposed not just to augment the school's program as originally planned but to provide funds to keep the school viable. However, his offer included the proviso that the school would have to be identified as an urban-suburban school and that it must be dedicated to being a model of a quality integrated school for urban-suburban areas.

Administrators were well aware that it was unlikely the Campus School could be kept intact without USITP support; there was, however, staff and parent resistance to the proposal. A climate of apprehension had been evolving within the Campus School and some segments of the Brockport community as uncertainties had grown as to the future of the Campus School. The proposed association with USITP gave a focus to this apprehension. The issue became one basically between the parents of White Brockport students, who somehow thought of the Campus School as "their" school and who hoped that the state would come up with funds to maintain the school as it had been, and of parents of urban Black students whose primary goal was to keep the school open by any means. Some staff joined in the debate, primarily in opposition to a complete identification of the school with the urban-suburban program.

In the end, the economics of the situation prevailed. The school could not continue on the limited funds that the college could provide. Without USITP funds, the school would not exist. The decision was made by college administrators to associate the Campus School with USITP, and permission was secured from appropriate officials at the state level to proceed on this basis. A new name was adopted for the school: Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education.

Plans were discussed as to the extent to which the school's program might benefit from the experience of the Rochester World of Inquiry School which had been designed as part of Project Unique to accomplish two goals within the City of Rochester: it was to provide an environment for innovative approaches to education, and the high quality of such education was expected to make it attractive both to Black and to White students. The school was to serve as a neutral site, thereby avoiding the resentment that may arise when a neighborhood school becomes a receiving school for children from outside that school's normal geographical boundaries. The World of Inquiry School has no captive constituency as does a neighborhood school. Instead, students have come to the school from throughout the City of Rochester as well as from other school districts in the County of Monroe. Both of these goals have served to foster the larger objective of successfully establishing an educationally superior, racially integrated school.

Selection of children for the World of Inquiry School has been based on maintaining a stable ratio in terms of sex, age, race, and geographic location which will ensure an ongoing reflection of the metropolitan Rochester area. Thus, by design, the school has maintained a balance of approximately 50 percent Caucasian and 50 percent minority students.

Set up to be a nongraded, model elementary school, the World of Inquiry School's educational philosophy has often been a departure from traditional learning techniques and programs. One of the basic tenets of the school is that chronological age is not the basic determinant of readiness to learn. Another is that opportunity for active involvement is the best stimulus for learning. The World of Inquiry School has served as a demonstration school for such innovative concepts as multigraded classrooms, open educational environments, reporting systems to parents, and curricular approaches for integrated classrooms. Many of the novel ideas tried out in the World of Inquiry School have later been incorporated into classrooms of public and nonpublic city and suburban schools. As a demonstration school, it has attracted many visitors, especially from the educational environment.

Since the Campus School had had an educational philosophy more closely aligned to that of the World of Inquiry School than to that of more traditional schools, the adaptation of its program to a style similar to that of the World of Inquiry School required few changes. Efforts were made to create a World of Inquiry aura about the school by bringing in national and international experts on open education to ensure that this would indeed be a suburban counterpart to the Rochester

World of Inquiry School. However, experience later proved that a restructuring of the educational program was desirable. USCIE now provides a range of classroom options, from highly structured "traditional" classrooms to "open plan" classrooms. As of January 1, 1980, USCIE had an enrollment of 258 students with a ratio of approximately 40 percent minority to 60 percent White children. For the 1980-81 school year, USCIE has projected a student enrollment goal of 343, while maintaining the same minority/White ratio (see table 2). White students now come from school districts beyond Brockport Central, as well as from the Brockport Central School District. The minority students are still exclusively from the City of Rochester.

USCIE is given assistance, as are other receiving districts, in organizing workshops and field trips in the interest of intercultural understanding and in the development of multi-ethnic material. Parents are encouraged to be involved in the school's program by parental visits to the classrooms and participation in special activities. Urban and suburban parents have formed a parent group which has been developing organizational strength over time. Gross has been asked to consult with it as needed. Such a group has the potential of developing into the guardian of the school should program changes or funding cutbacks threaten.

Conclusions

The Campus School/USCIE has been of unique value to the urban-suburban program because of the inherent "neutral" nature of the school which prevented much of the tension that school districts nave experienced when they have proposed being part of USITP. Also, it has provided a base of operations for the urban-suburban program in the western part of Monroe County where school districts have consistently resisted having urban minority children come into their schools.

Persuading the college administrators to accept minority children under the USITP program in 1966 was a relatively easy task. The college and the City of Rochester had a history of cooperative alliances, and the Campus School saw community service as one of its functions. Most importantly, the decision to participate in the program was made by educators whose educational philosophies were attuned to innovation. Furthermore, the issue did not need to be submitted to a board of education representing community interest. Later, when it was proposed that the Campus School become an urban-suburban program school, again there was no school district constituency or board of education to address the question. What opposition did arise came from within the college educational community and from parents who were scattered throughout several school districts. With the Campus School, the issue has not been whether to accept minority children. In 1976, the debate over association with USITP was related to the issue of control over the school and fears that the composition of the program and student body might change as a result of such a relationship. This minimal

TABLE 2

PROJECTED STUDENT ENROLLMENT GOAL

Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education

1980-1981

Grade Level	Minority	White	Percentage Representation
Kindergarten	24	36	40/60
First Grade	24	36	40/60
Second Grade	26	40	40/60
Third Grade	18	26	40/60
Fourth Grade	18	26	40/60
Fifth Grade	18	26	40/60
Sixth Grade	10	15	40/60

TOTAL POPULATION GOAL: 343 Students

opposition was readily overcome by the economic realities of the situation, for it was either accept USITP funding with the attendant conditions or cease to exist as a school.

While the proposed association with USITP produced some coalescing of parents and staff, these groups were issue-oriented and dispersed once the administrators' acceptance of Gross' offer rendered further opposition fruitless. The relationship between Gross and the college administrators, including the Campus School principal, has been a loosely-knit, continuing association.[10] All are educators; they have common interests and philosophies which have encouraged cooperation. The parents' group which has now formed has a potential for developing into a positive force to ensure the vitality and continuance of the school.

As administrator of USITP, Gross has been in the forefront of developing and strengthening ties between the Campus School and USITP. He was instrumental in getting the Campus School to join the USITP program in 1966 and, over the years, has made funds available to the Campus School, as in other school districts, for special projects. With the decline of the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School, he turned to the Campus School as a possibility to fulfill his hopes of having a suburban counterpart to the Rochester World of Inquiry School. The decision of the state university trustees to close the campus schools provided an opportunity for USITP not just to supplement the current educational program at the Campus School, but to bring the school into USITP as an integral part of that program. Once again, the experience of the Rochester World of Inquiry School could be utilized in the development of a suburban partner to that school, both educationally and philosophically.

Having the Campus School serve as the model for a quality, integrated urban-suburban school had several advantages over the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School. From a fiscal standpoint, there would be no rent for a facility. USITP would provide about one-half of the cost of operating the school (approximately $137,000 in the 1979-80 school year), and the college would provide the balance as part of its commitment toward keeping the school open. USITP would continue the payments for students coming in from the city and for their transportation costs as it had been doing since 1966. The faculty and facilities of the college could be available to supplement the regular program of the school as the need might arise. The college could also attract highly qualified personnel to provide assistance and training in human relations and intercultural understanding.

The opportunity of expanding USITP's operation at the Campus School has implications beyond the obvious advantages of associating with an established college. Brockport Central School District and Wheatland-Chili Central School District, together with USCIE, provide the only receiving schools for USITP minority children in the western part of Monroe County. (Wheatland-Chili Central School is in the southwestern part of the county and is adjacent to USITP receiving districts.) All of the other school districts participating in the urban-suburban program are located in the eastern part of the county. The western section of the county is generally viewed as more rural in nature, more conservative in philosophy, and less affluent. With the exception of persons employed by the college, this section has fewer professional residents. These characteristics are assumed to underlie the resistance of these western school districts to taking urban minority children into their schools.

The Campus School did, of course, readily accept minority children in 1966; this was a function of its uniqueness among the schools of the area. The fact that the Campus School did take minority children was effectively used as a lever later to persuade the Brockport Central School District to take minority students coming from the Campus School.

Having the restructured USCIE in the western part of the county provides opportunities for children from school districts in that area to attend a quality, integrated school, an experience that many of their eastern counterparts have been having since the mid-1960s. Moreover, having an expanded importance in this area has given the urban-suburban program a base for further attempts to draw western districts into the urban-suburban program. A successful, integrated experience in a neutral-site school may pave the way for integrative efforts in surrounding school districts.

The large share of funding provided by USITP, the similarity to the World of Inquiry School model, the change of name, all have clearly made USCIE an integral part of the urban-suburban program. Indirectly, the school suffers from all of the insecurities that plague USITP: year-by-year funding; the need for continued federal and state money and, in USCIE's case, financial contributions from the college; and reliance on the cooperation of the Rochester City School District and suburban school districts to provide the school with students.

While the school's educational philosophy has deviated somewhat from its original correlation to the pattern of the Rochester World of Inquiry School, USCIE is still considered by many to indeed be the suburban counterpart of the original World of Inquiry School. Thus, it may derive benefits from the favorable reputation developed by that school.

These two schools may prove to be useful as successful examples of quality, integrated education involving a student population not defined by the usual school district boundaries. As such, they may one day be seen as the first steps toward the eventual implementation of a metropolitan approach to the delivery of educational services.

NOTES

1. Project Unique is an acronym for United Now for Integrated Quality Urban-Suburban Education.

2. ESEA Title III funds were available for supplementary educational centers and services in order to stimulate and assist in provision of vitally needed educational services and in development and establishment of elementary and secondary school programs to serve as models for regular school programs.

3. Because of the emotional climate which still exists today in regard to the transportation of students across school district lines and the administration of this program, the interviews that were conducted were private interviews and are not referenced in this report. Information from interviews has been verified, insofar as possible, by documentation from newspaper libraries, school district and USITP records, and other written materials.

4. Elma B. Boyko, "Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program," January 1980.

5. ESAA Title VII funds are available to qualifying school districts that are implementing integration plans, either voluntarily or by court order.

6. Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act addressed inservice teacher training to ease the transition to desegregated schools.

7. Because of the trustees' action and because of the public concern evidenced in those communities where the campus schools were located, the New York State Legislature at this time passed a resolution that the campus schools should remain open, but that the university should immediately engage in a very careful assessment and evaluation of the campus schools and report back to the legislature. Such evaluation was conducted, and a report was made to the university. As of this writing, there has been no final action on that report with reference to the final report to the legislature.

8. Elma B. Boyko, "Metropolitan World of Inquiry School," January 1980.

9. Democrat and Chronicle, February 28, 1976.

10. Andrew Virgilio, principal of the Campus School in 1966 when the school first participated in USITP, is now dean of the Division of Public Service and Continuing Education, State University at Brockport. He is also an assemblyman and was instrumental in securing state funds for transportation costs when federal funds could no longer be used for that purpose.

J

URBAN-SUBURBAN INTERDISTRICT TRANSFER PROGRAM: PROJECT US IN ROCHESTER/MONROE COUNTY

by

Elma B. Boyko

(Footnotes on p. J-37)

URBAN-SUBURBAN INTERDISTRICT TRANSFER PROGRAM: PROJECT US
IN ROCHESTER/MONROE COUNTY

Introduction

Since 1954, school districts, particularly urban school districts, increasingly have been under legal and moral pressures to address the questions of racial imbalance within their school populations. School districts which have had large minority groups often have turned to a variety of efforts--sometimes minimal, sometimes innovative--to achieve the mandated integrated mix of students. Aside from those school districts in which minority aggregation has been sufficiently large as to require redress, there have existed throughout the nation many school districts where racial imbalance has not been an issue, usually because there have been few or no minority students within the school district's boundaries. The present case history is an investigation of such a school district and the events surrounding the institution of a voluntary program which was a manifestation of a social concern within this particular educational environment.

In the northern part of the United States, there are three voluntary interdistrict student transfer programs which have been instituted as metropolitan approaches to involve suburban school districts in the desegregation/integration issue. Project Concern was one program implemented in 1966, involving Hartford, Connecticut, and five suburban towns. The Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity, Inc., (METCO), a nonprofit organization incorporated in 1966, involved 43 communities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by 1976. The earliest of these three programs, however, was the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP) in Monroe County in the State of New York.

USITP is a program in which there has been an interrelationship and an interdependence between the Rochester City School District and those suburban school districts that have participated in the program. The effect of the program has been to alleviate, in some small way, the increasing racial imbalance experienced in the city's educational system. While USITP has had a strong identification with the Rochester City School District, particularly during the time that it was a component of Project Unique,[1] the present investigation has centered on the West Irondequoit School District because of its unique role in this innovative program.

The impetus for an interdistrict program for full-time students came from the members of the West Irondequoit School District's Board of Education who made a decision based on their social concerns and moral convictions. This report looks at the decision-making process in the adoption of this program and the coalitions which have polarized about the transfer plan; and it discusses those forces that have impacted on the implementation of USITP. Implementation (including attempts at expansion of the program) has never been a true fait accompli; political, emotional, and fiscal factors, at various times and in varying degrees, all have posed a threat to the program.

This report is also a story of people as well as processes. Unlike many innovations in the educational environment, an issue such as integration evokes an emotional response in almost everyone it touches.[2] This program has been heavily dependent for its continued existence upon the fortitude and moral convictions not only of those who have been in the forefront of instituting and maintaining the program such as the 1964 Board of Education members and Norman Gross, who has administered the program for nearly its entire span, but also of a myriad of other people from inside and outside the educational community who have cared enough to lend their support to the program.

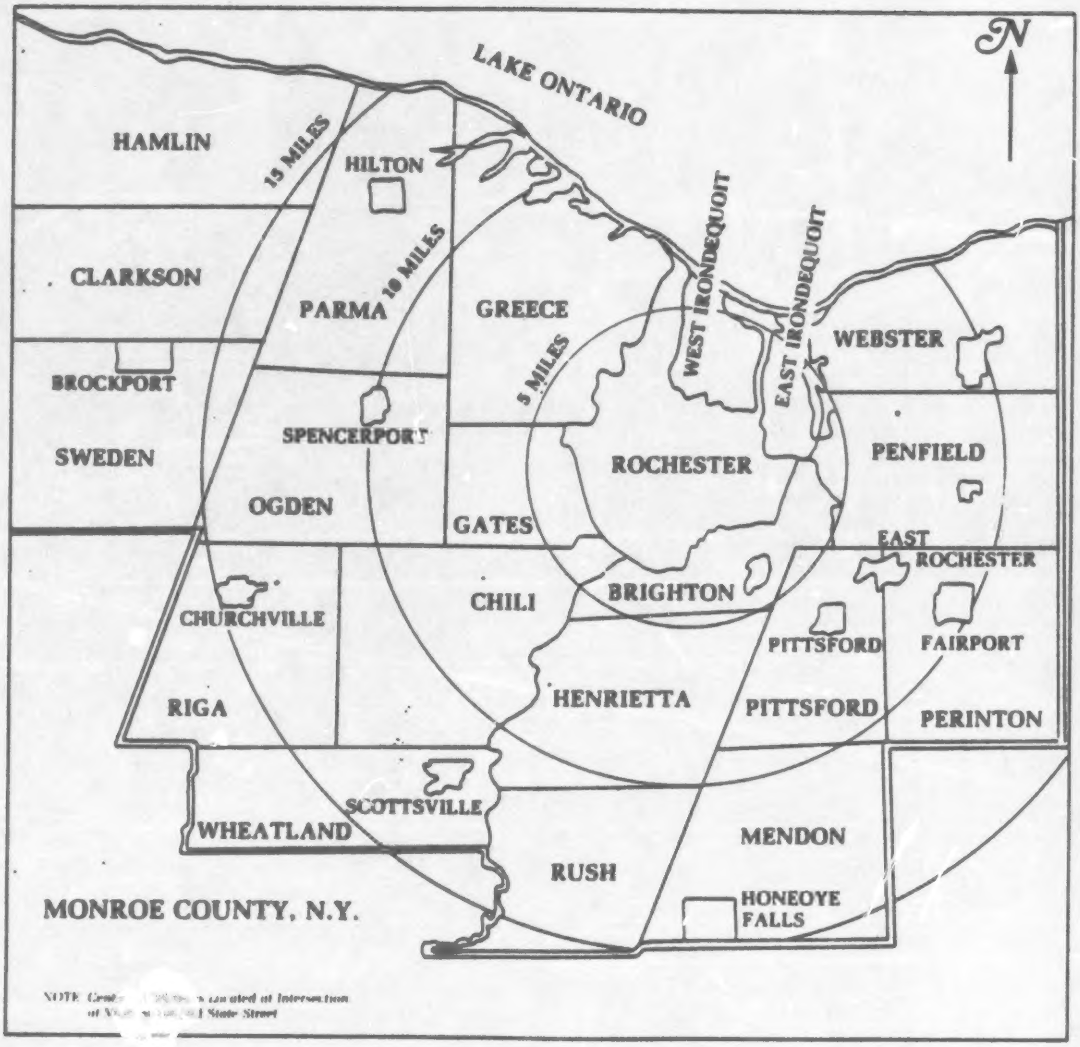
In a sense, the program has come full circle in two ways. Under this program, in 1965, 24 minority children from the City of Rochester started first grade in West Irondequoit where the student population previously had been almost exclusively White; in 1977, these students were the first high school graduates under the program. Also, this program drew a great deal of attention to West Irondequoit when it was initiated. It was administered by the Rochester City School District until 1973 when, for funding purposes, the administration of the program was shifted from the Rochester City School District to the West Irondequoit Central School District as the Local Educational Agency (LEA). This program is once again visibly identified with the West Irondequoit Central School District.

The Setting

The geographic location of the City of Rochester in relation to the suburban school districts in Monroe County was a positive factor in the feasibility of an urban-suburban transfer plan. Monroe County is a compact area. The City of Rochester is surrounded by a number of suburban and exurban towns, none of which is more than 15 to 20 miles from the city (see Map, p. 3). The eighteen suburban school districts thus are readily accessible from the city, and a transfer plan did not require the transport of pupils over long distances.

West Irondequoit is a suburban school district contiguous to the city line boundary of Rochester. Like many of the suburban school districts in the eastern part of the county, its population was, for the most part, homogenous, stable, relatively affluent, and White. (Most of the school districts which later became part of USITP were from the eastern part of the county. The western part of Monroe County is more rural in character and has been characterized as generally more conservative in philosophy.)

The City of Rochester, like many urban centers in the North, experienced an increase in minority groups during the 1950s and 1960s.


LAKE ONTARIO
HAMLIN
HILTON
15 MILES
10 MILES
5 MILES
CLARKSON
PARMA
GREECE
WEST IRONDEQUOIT
EAST IRONDEQUOIT
WEBSTER
BROCKPORT
SPENCERPORT
SWEDEN
ROCHESTER
PENFIELD
OGDEN
GATES
EAST ROCHESTER
CHILI
BRIGHTON
CHURCHVILLE
PITTSFORD
FAIRPORT
RIGA
HENRIETTA
PITTSFORD
PERINTON
SCOTTSVILLE
WHEATLAND
MENDON
RUSH
HONEOYE FALLS
MONROE COUNTY, N.Y.
N

NOTE: Cente[illegible] located at Intersection of M[illegible] State Street

For instance, from 1950 to 1970, Rochester's Black population grew from 7,590 to 49,647, an increase of 650 percent.[3] Other ethnic groups also increased, although on a smaller scale. While the concentration of minority groups increasingly led to schools which were de facto segregated within the city, suburban school districts in Monroe County had very little change in their already minimal number of school-age minority children (see table 1, p. 5).

The pressures for the correction of racial imbalance in schools began to build after the Civil Rights legislation in 1954, but it was not until nearly a decade later that large-scale efforts were considered by the City of Rochester to deal with the minority/White disparities in its schools. In 1963, the New York State Commissioner of Education required every school district in the state to examine and report its racial balance. The City of Rochester was compelled to institute a program of desegregation. West Irondequoit's response was to offer voluntarily a program of integration.

On June 14, 1963, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., New York State Commissioner of Education, sent a Special Message to Chief School Administrators and Presidents of Boards of Education Regarding Racial Imbalance in Schools. His message referred to the New York State Board of Regents policy of 1961 which reiterated the principle of "equal opportunity for all children, without regard to differences in economic, national, religious, or racial background" and called for "all citizens. . . to reexamine the schools within their local systems to determine whether they conform to this standard so clearly seen to be the right of every child."[4] Commissioner Allen directed local school officials to submit to him by September 1, 1963, a statement regarding the status of racial balance within their respective districts.

In August 1963, in response to this directive, the Rochester City School District's Board of Education directed the superintendent of schools to develop plans during the 1963-64 school year to significantly reduce racial imbalance in schools where imbalance existed. One of the attempts to reduce such racial imbalance was the Open Enrollment Plan begun in February 1964, which was a voluntary program whereby students could apply to transfer out of their home school district into another school district within the city.[5] The existence of the Open Enrollment program provided the vehicle for the implementation of West Irondequoit's later decision to accept minority children into its suburban school district.

West Irondequoits' response to the directive of the Commissioner of Education was to report that it expected that there would be only two Black pupils enrolled in fall 1963. Essentially, there was in West Irondequoit, as in other suburban school districts, no problem at all in terms of racial balance. If the ratio of Black to White pupils should appreciably change in the future, it was pointed out that: at the high school level, all pupils attend the same school; at the level of K-8, the Board of Education promised a policy of resolving the situation in accordance with the Statement of Policy adopted by the Board of Regents.[6]

Table 1

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY STUDENTS
IN SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

	1968-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76
Brighton	2.3	2.7	3.3	3.4	3.9	4.4	4.0	4.5
Brockport	2.9	2.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.5	3.2	3.4
Churchville-Chili	*	*	*	*	*	1.6	1.5	1.3
East Irondequoit	*	*	*	*	1.0	1.4	1.5	1.4
East Rochester	*	*	*	*	*	1.0	1.1	1.6
Fairport	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.2	1.4
Gates-Chili	*	*	*	*	*	1.0	1.5	1.5
Greece	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.1
Hilton	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.1	*	*	*
Honeoye Falls-Lima	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Penfield	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.9
Pittsford	1.7	2.4	2.9	2.5	2.8	3.6	3.3	3.6
Rush-Henrietta	2.1	2.3	3.3	3.8	5.1	5.8	6.5	7.9
Spencerport	*	*	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.5
Webster	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.8	2.2
West Irondequoit	1.3	1.6	2.1	2.6	1.8	1.7	2.6	3.3
Wheatland-Chili	2.8	4.2	4.8	4.5	5.0	5.4	4.3	4.4

*Less than 1 percent

Figures are from the State Education Department and individual districts.

Source: The Times-Union, January 22, 1976.

The attention, focused on racial imbalance by the commissioner of education's directive, led to other attempts on a smaller scale than Open Enrollment to bring minority and White children together in learning experiences. Norman Gross, head of the Social Studies Department of Madison High School, gained approval from his principal and the Rochester City School District superintendent to institute a transurban exchange from Madison High School which had a 50.2 percent Black student population and Marshall High School which had only one non-White student. Similar exchanges for classroom periods were arranged with the suburban school districts of West Irondequoit and Brighton. There were also some "live-in" exchanges with the Penfield School District whereby a child from the city and a child from that suburb would exchange home and school experiences for short periods of time. In summer 1964, the suburban Brighton School District No. 1 invited 25 elementary pupils from School No. 19 to attend summer school in Brighton. These small and cautious steps to bring urban and suburban minority and White children together were a prelude to West Irondequoit's taking the initiative to institute a full-time-day school-exchange program.

Intercultural Enrichment Program

Adoption of Resolution

Although West Irondequoit had fulfilled the directive of the New York State Commissioner of Education and was under no compulsion (as was the City of Rochester) to formulate plans to correct racial imbalance, members of the Board of Education were not content to ignore such problems within the educational system. (Names of the members of the Board of Education for 1963-1964 and 1964-1965 school years are listed on page 7.) There is no clear indication that any one person on the board of education can claim credit for the idea; but, during the year following Commissioner Allen's directive, a consensus began to form among the board members that, somehow, their response to the directive was inadequate. Board members began to view the City of Rochester/suburbs dichotomy as a situation where there was racial imbalance in reverse. (West Irondequoit had only two minority students in an enrollment of nearly 5,800 pupils.) The board members differentiated between desegregation, which was seen basically as an administrative device to correct racial imbalance and which was not an area that they could influence, and integration, which could involve the educational process to affect attitudes and, while breaking down stereotypes, promote the concept of the dignity of each individual.

This growing awareness among board members that suburban districts could act in this area of social concern and that there could be benefits to a suburban district by having minority children in its midst led to a query by board member Joseph Cole. At a special meeting of the board of education on July 20, 1964, he asked "whether, space permitting, underprivileged pupils might be brought into the district on some form of tuition basis."[7] Eric Stettner, president of the board of education, contacted the State Education Department to investigate the legal

Table 2

BOARD OF EDUCATION
WEST IRONDEQUOIT SCHOOL DISTRICT

1963-64 School Year

President: Eric J. Stettner

Board Members:
Joseph W. Cole
James K. Littwitz
Gertrude Horner
E. Roy Birkicht
Dwight Palmer
Margaret Benford

1964-65 School Year

President: Eric J. Stettner

Board Members:
Joseph W. Cole
James K. Littwitz
Gertrude Horner
H. Robert Sprentall
William D. Hope
Jane Warner

ramifications of any such action. At a meeting of the New York State School Board Conference in October 1964, board members Cole, Hope, and Sprentall arranged to discuss with representatives of the State Education Department's legal division methods of bringing minority children into the district. This conference with the legal division was discussed at the regular meeting of the board on November 9, 1964, in terms of "the board's responsibility in concern about its part in carrying out the directives of Commissioner Allen toward reduction of racial imbalance and the improvement of educational opportunities for the culturally disadvantaged."[8]

An executive session was held November 30, 1964, by the board members and Earle W. Helmer, Superintendent of the West Irondequoit Central School District, to discuss possible policy. On December 15, 1964, the board members and Helmer met with Rochester City School District Superintendent Herman R. Goldberg and Assistant Superintendent of Schools for Research and Development William Rock to inquire whether the Open Enrollment program could serve to implement an inter-district student exchange. Once agreement was reached by the Rochester City School District and the West Irondequoit Central School District that such an exchange was feasible, a further exploratory meeting was held on February 1, 1965, between Goldberg and Rock from the Rochester City School District, Helmer and Stettner from the West Irondequoit Central School District, and Dr. Theron Johnson of the State Education Department to discuss the setting up of such a program.

With formal investigatory steps completed and agreement among the chief administrators of the Rochester City School District, West Irondequoit Central School District, and the State Education Department that such a student program was not only feasible but desirable, the West Irondequoit Board of Education took formal steps to adopt the inter-district program and to plan for its implementation.

On February 15, 1965, at an adjourned meeting of the board, a resolution was unanimously passed supporting the exploratory action taken and endorsing the concept of West Irondequoit serving as a receiving school system for pupils from the Rochester City School District.[9] On March 23, 1965, at an adjourned meeting of the board, the following resolution to develop the program was unanimously passed:

RESOLUTION

> WHEREAS, An educational program with the highest ideals cannot be static in the face of changing educational needs and methods, expanding areas of knowledge, and shifting social values; and
>
> WHEREAS, Such an educational program must fulfill its obligation to prepare children for life in a democratic society and to enable them to meet one of the great needs of that society, improvement in inter-racial and intercultural relations; and

WHEREAS, The racial and cultural make-up of West Irondequoit, which is generally that of white families with above-average economic background, does not provide the environment and opportunities for such intercultural experiences;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT, The Board of Education of Central School District No. 3, Town of Irondequoit, accept an obligation to provide for our children opportunities to become better acquainted with the several races and cultures of the greater Rochester community.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT, To implement this policy the Board of Education encourage the administrative and teaching staff to develop:

(1) Curriculum materials which contain historical, anthropological, and cultural information regarding the contributions of the Negro and other minority groups,

(2) Programs of exchange visits with the Rochester Public Schools in areas of mutual interest, i.e., musical performances, art projects, social events, sports days, drama productions, and other such activities,

(3) And in particular, a program that will permit West Irondequoit School District to serve as a receiving school for pupils currently enrolled in racially imbalanced schools in Rochester. [Source: Minutes of adjourned meeting of the Rochester Board of Education, March 23, 1965.]

A majority of the board members present at that meeting urged that there be a series of meetings to acquaint teachers and community leaders with the board's plan and the use of the board of education's Newsletter to describe the plan to West Irondequoit residents in advance of the May 12 meeting to be co-sponsored by the Council on Race and Religion and the University of Rochester with chief school administrators of Monroe County. The theme of the meeting would be integration as a metropolitan responsibility.

The board of education members met with eleven members of the Irondequoit Teachers Association (ITA) Executive Committee on March 31, 1965, to brief them on the actions that the board had taken. The ITA representatives supported both the board's policy and its plans for implementation of such policy. When the ITA Executive Committee was asked for advice on the best way of informing the district's teaching staff, it proposed to call a districtwide faculty meeting on April 12 to allow Stettner and Henry Nahabetian, a teacher, to present the plan; after the presentation, small discussion groups could be formed, each led by a board member and a member of the ITA Executive Committee. In the meantime, the board also scheduled a meeting on April 6 with community leaders: presidents of the Parent Teacher Associations of the Dake, Iroquois, and Rogers area; the Irondequoit High School Parent's

Forum; the West Irondequoit Council Parent Teachers Association, and the clergy of each of the churches in West Irondequoit.

All of the negotiations and meetings up to this time had been conducted quietly. As a rule, board of education meetings were not well attended by the public; during this period (July 20,1964, to March 31, 1965), attendance ranged from one to six persons present at these regular and open special meetings at which the possibility of undertaking some kind of action was discussed. The resolutions supporting the concept (February 15, 1965) and actually adopting the program designating West Irondequoit as a receiving school for minority students (March 23, 1965) were offered and passed at adjourned meetings of the board; the only persons present were board members and district administrative staff. At the March 31 meeting with the ITA Executive Committee, Board of Education President Stettner stressed the importance of keeping the matter confidential until the public announcement was made.[10]

On April 13, 1965, the West Irondequoit Central School District sent out a newsletter to each resident in the district, which was, in effect, a policy statement explaining the board's action and its rationale for such action. The newsletter, entitled "A Policy For Educational Enrichment in Inter-Cultural Relations," cited the New York State Commissioner of Education's directive as providing the impetus for the adoption of the program and reflected the kind of thinking that led the board members to take such action:

> The board believes that the presence in a single school of children from varied racial, cultural, socio-economic and religious backgrounds is an important element in the preparation of young people for active participation in the social and political affairs of our democracy . . . .
>
> Recognizing that the racial and cultural make-up of West Irondequoit is generally that of white families with above average economic background, which does not provide the environment and opportunities for such intercultural experiences, the Board of Education of West Irondequoit Central District 3 accepts the obligation to provide for our children opportunities to become better acquainted with the several races and cultures of the greater Rochester community.[11]

The newsletter also addressed practical concerns of space, cost, and academic competency of incoming children which it was felt might be raised:

> An open enrollment program in this district would not be implemented unless the space is available for a few additional elementary children. And it would be hoped that the children who started in our schools could continue through grade twelve.
>
> . . . Since the total cost of the program, including tuition

> and transportation, would be paid by the sending school district, the implementation of the program would be contingent upon the sending district's receiving supporting funds from the State Education Department. After our own pupil assignments have been made, our administrative staff would place incoming children throughout the district where there is space, without increasing any classes beyond the size deemed advisable.
>
> The Rochester City School District has devised a very careful selection method for the children participating in its own Open Enrollment plan, and has assured our board that any child who might be sent to West Irondequoit would be chosen carefully for the ability and achievement qualifications which would enable him to fit easily into our class situations.[12]

Those involved in planning the program had certainly been aware that not all West Irondequoit residents would embrace the program, but the restricted dialogue that had taken place in planning and adopting the program had reinforced the belief of the board members that they were instituting a policy that was "educationally sound, morally right, and that, with its implementation, our students will be better prepared for the world in which they must live."[13]

The program was focused on the educational enrichment benefits to West Irondequoit where a limited number of carefully selected minority children would provide an intercultural experience for West Irondequoit students. While programs of exchange visits with the Rochester City School District in areas of mutual interest such as art, sports, etc., were to be encouraged, the program was not intended to be a two-way exchange of students, with minority children coming into West Irondequoit and West Irondequoit children being enrolled in schools in the Rochester City School District.

Initially, receipt of the newsletter brought vehement opposition from individuals, but quickly thereafter from groups who coalesced about the issue. Opposition to the program was much stronger and more emotional than the board had anticipated it would be. Within two weeks after the newsletter was mailed, opposition to the program began to be formalized.

One of the first to make a public statement on the program was William J. Hickey, Jr. He declined at that point to say whether he was opposed to the decision itself because of insufficient information, but he did criticize the board for the way the decision was made, saying that a decision of such "major magnitude should have been up to the voters."[14] Hickey's public statement, critical of the adoption of the program, coupled with his prominence in the community led others concerned about the board's action to contact him. As a result of these contacts, Hickey called a meeting on April 27 to protest the cultural enrichment program. Concern was expressed at this meeting about the effect on the neighborhood school concept; the board's power to bring children into the district and also, perhaps, to move children out;

and, in particular, the manner in which the matter was handled (i.e., charges of secrecy on the part of the board were made in regard to the planning and adoption of the program). Perhaps one-half to one-third of the 250 persons attending the meeting were there to support the program, but the newspaper reported that many of them walked out en masse before the meeting ended.[15] Petitions were circulated calling for a special district meeting before the annual meeting in June and asking for the right of a referendum on West Irondequoit's participation in the open enrollment program. The spokesman for this meeting, William J. Hickey, Jr., also said that this group would query the announced candidates for the board of education as to their stand on the issue before deciding whether to run a candidate of its own.[16]

Supporters of the board's policy hastily formed a group called SPICE (Supporters of Policy for Inter-Cultural Education) which was in existence about two weeks while its members visited West Irondequoit residents to go over the board's plans and secure signatures on a letter of support for the board's policy.

An estimated 1200 persons attended the May 11 board of education meeting; it took three consecutive evening sessions for the board to complete its agenda for that board meeting. Hickey presented the board with a petition calling for the special referendum; he said that the petition contained more than 4,111 signatures. SPICE chairman, Warren Duerr, said that his group had obtained more than 2,500 signatures on a letter commending the board for its policy.[17]

The legal council to the board explained to those attending that the board had the legal right to make the decision on a referendum and that a referendum on the plan could not be forced legally. Although not legally bound to honor the request for a referendum, the board could have held such a referendum had it chosen to do so, with the option of having the results of such referendum binding or nonbinding in regard to the board's decision to participate in the open enrollment program. The board chose not to allow a referendum, publicly basing its decision on the fact that "by law, policy decisions are the responsibility of the board, not the district voters, and the board did not feel it should relinquish that responsibility."[18]

The board announced its rejection of the special referendum request at the second session of the May board meeting. At the same time, it was stated that there was a distinction between policy and implementation; no formal commitment had yet been made to the city, and implementation was not necessarily imminent. Superintendent Helmer conceded that "perhaps they're not ready for it immediately."[19] Those attending were assured that implementation would be delayed until the board felt that the district residents had been given additional information on the program, until the board was in possession of all the facts it needed (such as classroom space available, and until there were assurances of state aid).

Opposition to the program continued to gain momentum. On June 16, Stephen P. Rounds, who had come out publicly against the program, defeated a supporter of the program for a seat on the board of education. (Incumbent Stettner had chosen not to run for reelection.) The votes cast in that election totaled 3,445, in contrast to the preceding year (1964) when the highest number of votes cast for a candidate was 764.[20] The effects of this program on subsequent budget votes and election of candidates for the school board are discussed in a later section.

Notwithstanding the delay in implementation implied at the May board meeting, on June 28, the board passed a resolution offering to accept up to 25 pupils in September 1965. The board also voted to accept a report for implementation of the program. This report proposed the acceptance of 300 Rochester children in groups of 25 students entering first grade each year, over a period of 12 years.

Meanwhile, Hickey and Doyle O. Etter had filed an appeal with the New York State Commissioner of Education charging the board with adopting the cultural enrichment policy in secret sessions and challenging the rejection of the petition calling for a referendum. And, less than a month before the Rochester first graders were to start school, Etter, William J. Gustafson, and Edward S. Klimley, who were officers of a Citizens' Education Committee of West Irondequoit, brought suit as private individuals in the State Supreme Court in an attempt to secure an injunction blocking the intended busing of the 25 students. Just days before school was to open, the application for a temporary injunction was denied; 24 children from School #19 in the Rochester City School District entered first grades in the West Irondequoit Central School District. (The family of one child selected for the program had moved out of the School #19 area prior to the start of school.) The board arranged for mothers from West Irondequoit to ride the buses bringing the children in to start school. In spite of the emotional climate existing in the district, no violence occurred when school opened.

There was no surprise in the fact that the state education commissioner dismissed the appeal by Hicky and Etter. (An appeal to the commissioner was a required procedure before legal action could be instituted.) The commissioner ruled that the West Irondequoit school board had the right to accept nonresident students "without the approval of a special district meeting," and he also dismissed the contentions that the board had acted illegally in adopting the open enrollment plan.[21]

In April 1966, the State Supreme Court upheld the legality of the West Irondequoit Central School District's open enrollment policy. This decision was appealed by Etter, et al. In June 1967, the Appelate Division, Fourth Department, upheld the lower court's decision, thereby exhausting the legal remedies available to the plaintiffs at that time. Just prior to the decision on the appeal, two of the plaintiffs, Gustafson and Klimley, announced their resignations as vice chairman and treasurer, respectively, of the Citizens Education Committee and said that they planned to withdraw as plaintiffs in the court case. Etter refused to join them in their stated desire to restore harmony in the district.[22]

Opponents' Use of the Ballot

Agitation against the program did not abate with the affirmation of the legality of the board's decision and of the program itself. The opponents of the program turned to the elective process as a means of redress. In 1963, 138 persons voted on a school budget and 334 on the election of a board member. In 1964, 91 voted on the budget, and, of three candidates elected to board seats, the highest number of votes cast for any of these was 764. In 1965, two months after the program was announced to the community, 1,471 persons voted on the budget; a candidate opposing the program won over a supporter of the program by 2,112 votes out of 3,445 cast. In 1966, 5,734 voted on the budget; an antiprogram candidate, Rebecca Herdle, won over her opponent by 72 votes out of 5,724 cast; while incumbent, William D. Hope, garnered 2,927 votes to 2,793 for his opponent,[23] Doyle O. Etter, who was antiprogram.[24]

Beginning in 1966, propositions began to fail to be approved by the voters. Budgets in 1967 and 1968 were defeated, necessitating special voting on revised budgets. In 1969, the budget passed by only 93 votes out of a total of 6,147 votes cast. School district administrative people say that a consistently high "no" vote has continued until this year when only 838 "no" votes were cast.[25]

It would be impossible to state flatly that the defeat of any one budget or proposition had a direct relationship to the Intercultural Enrichment program, or ICE, as it came to be called; for, in these years, school districts throughout the country began to experience difficulty in getting budgets approved by the voters. Opposition, which had coalesced around the issue of the ICE program, may have built upon a base of those individuals in the community with a conservative philosophy who had collectively attempted to effect cutbacks in school expenditures for a number of years and who, in opposing some innovative programs proposed, were advocates of a return to the "basics" of education. However, individual residents were quoted as having made such comments as, "The only way we can protest is to vote down the budget," and, "Five thousand people asked for a referendum (on busing), and the referendum was denied. The only way left to react is at every opportunity on votes for candidates and monies."[26] Why an individual voted for or against a particular budget or proposition may not be publicly discernible, but it is clear that record numbers of West Irondequoit residents were suddenly interested in their right to vote in school district elections.

A clearer expression of the strength and determination of the opposition to (and also the supporters of) ICE is evident in the contests for seats on the board of education. When the ICE program was adopted in 1966, the board members were unanimously in favor of the program. As noted previously, the 1965 school board election that was held two months after the program was announced resulted in Stephen P. Rounds (who avowed opposition to the program) winning over a supporter of the program. Each year thereafter, a school board candidate was elected who had run for office as an opponent of ICE until, in 1968, the potential was there for the board to have a majority against ICE. During these years (1966-1968), no incumbent chose to run for reelection except Hope who was re-elected in 1966 when two board seats were available.

After the opponents of ICE began to be successful in getting candidates elected, it became apparent that the school board elections might be decided solely on the basis of a single issue: the ICE program. A citizens' committee, called FORE, was organized by Robert I. Edelman in 1967, with the stated purpose of: (1) influencing the selection of qualified candidates who were supportive of the educational system in West Irondequoit and who were not committed to extreme positions for or against ICE; and (2) getting such candidates elected. This attempt to temper the election of one-issue candidates drew in about 1,500 persons from the community. The organization was in existence until the early 1970s. It disbanded when the ICE program was no longer used by candidates as the paramount issue of a campaign.

In the 1968 school board election, Warren D. Jones, who was perceived to be "generally" opposed to the ICE program, defeated a supporter of the program by 583 votes out of a total of 7,149 votes cast. His election theoretically tipped the balance on the board to three who were pro-ICE and four who questioned the ICE program. On May 14, before Jones took his seat, a motion was made not to accept another 25 youngsters for fall 1968. Although the board's strength was still 4-3 pro-ICE, incumbent Littwitz abstained from voting. He did not deem it appropriate to influence the outcome of this motion since his term of office would end within a month's time. The resultant 3-3 tie vote kept the ICE program intact.

A vote in June may well have been the point at which intense concentration with school board members being anti- or pro-ICE began to diminish. At this board meeting, the issue of 25 more students being accepted in the fall resurfaced. A compromise was proposed whereby 12 inner-city first graders would be admitted instead of 25. The board voted unanimously for this motion. The board also voted to appoint a citizens' committee to carry out a complete evaluation of the program. Jones, who was to take his seat the following month, endorsed the compromise position. Rebecca Herdle, who had won her seat in 1966 as an opponent of the program, expressed the rationale for the unanimity:

> The time has come for the board and the community to unite and to reassess the program without the tension of extreme positions. It has been an obsession with the board which has kept us from handling routine business. The subject has infected every vote.[27]

Board member Rounds, who had been elected and had served as an anti-ICE member, resigned as of September 1, 1968, because he had been transferred out of the state. This left a board that could have been deadlocked on the issue, 3-3. The board again compromised by unanimously electing a "neutral" choice, Arthur E. Liebert, to serve during the remainder of the school year. The ICE program continued to exist in the absence of any successful motion to terminate it.

Community Support

While opponents protested in a collective action at the polls and officers of the Citizens' Committee for Education were in the forefront of the legal battle to block the program, supporters of the program mounted efforts to counter the opposition.

Clergymen within the West Irondequoit Central School District had been privy to the impending announcement of the intercultural program in 1965. Shortly after the program was announced, the clergymen of all three faiths in the district issued a statement endorsing the program and calling a referendum on such an issue a "dangerous precedent."[28] Pamphlets were distributed at various churches in the community outlining the program and the reasons the clergy supported it.

The Irondequoit Teachers Association Executive Committee had, of course, helped to explain and to promote the program from the beginning. In 1968, the ITA included a statement of support of the cultural enrichment program in its 1968-69 contract with the district. In 1969, a tentative contract agreement failed to be approved because it did not include an agreement on the Ice program. The ITA president protested the school board's consideration of the ICE program as being non-negotiable (in spite of the fact that an agreement existed in the current contract) and said, "We want the program continued because we believe in it."[29] Many teachers individually favored the program. Out of 200 teachers polled on the program in 1968, most of the 119 who replied indicated their approval of the program. The report of the poll warned that it is "still obvious that teachers who have Negro pupils in their classrooms express their opinions about the program more often than teachers who do not, and their answers tend to be positive."[30]

Parent Teachers Associations were a bridge for information from the school district to the community. PTA members served as community "mothers" for the minority children by being available in case of an urgent need if the child's parents were not readily available, and they actively encouraged the program's children to participate in extracurricular school activities.

In 1968, one hundred urban and suburban educators and parents formed a group called Quality Education Now; and, in 1969, urban and suburban parents formed All Parents Together (APT). The latter group had begun to meet informally in 1968 after a liaison person from West Irondequoit approached three or four parents of the children who were in West Irondequoit as a result of this program. Suburban parents then contacted the city parents, and a meeting was set up. APT played a significant role the following year when the referendum issue came up again. The referendum issue served as a catalyst to bring in more members, the members being about evenly divided between city and suburb. APT has continued to function in providing information and social contact for its members and workshops (e.g., in human relations) open to the public, but its activity diminished during the 1970s.

A committee to publicize and promote the ICE program was formed in the district in fall 1968. Chairman of this Committee for Intercultural Education, Inc., was John A. Hultberg who had unsuccessfully run for the school board in 1967. Former board members Cole and Stettner were on the Board of Directors; also, present board member Littwitz, who was not seeking reelection, was a member. A major undertaking of this committee was a 14-page brochure, entitled "Focus on Understanding," briefly describing and evaluating the program and containing photographs of Black and White children interacting, with children's quotes praising their being part of the project. "Focus on Understanding" was mailed to all West Irondequoit residents in April 1965, prior to the school board election scheduled for May 8. At the time, the board of education was composed of four pro-ICE and three anti-ICE members. In that election, the pro-ICE candidate lost to candidate Jones who favored a halt in the program.

Referendum Issue Resurfaces

The citizens' committee appointed by the board of education as part of its compromise agreement in 1968 submitted its report to the board at the February 1969 meeting. The committee's report backed the continuation and expansion of the ICE program. However, the committee said that the program "has polarized the community" and may have caused defeat of the last two out of four school budgets. Because "it would be foolhardy to ignore the magnitude of the emotional factor" involved in the program, the report recommended that a referendum be held to decide whether the program should be continued; also, the voters should be allowed to choose between terminating the program entirely or modifying the existing program.[31]

This time, it was the supporters of the program who quickly mustered forces. Norman Gross, who was now administrator of the urban-suburban transfer program for Rochester, was responsible for the management of this program and was working to have other suburban districts besides West Irondequoit serve as receiving districts. He quickly arranged to meet with an official in the State Education Department's Division of Intercultural Relations in Education to seek advice on the referendum issue.

The APT organization mobilized to fight the referendum. Parents from the city and from West Irondequoit circulated petitions calling for the West Irondequoit school board to make the decisions on the program rather than allowing a referendum. APT contacted other community groups to try to build a united front opposing the referendum and urged attendance at school board meetings. A statement prepared by APT called the citizens' committee report on ICE "subtle, psychological assassination of 74 innocent children in addition to resulting in irresponsible damage to the West Irondequoit children with whom they have come in contact" and stated, "We cannot let what the citizens' committee terms 'an emotional compromise' . . . undo the progress that has been made by this program."[32] This emotional statement, read by Evelyn Scott of the APT steering committee, received wide publicity in church newsletters and local and city newspapers and was believed to be a factor in the increase in APT membership.

Three hundred persons attended the March board of education meeting at which the petitions were presented (including a petition signed by teachers and about 1,000 students favoring the program). There were few opponents present; all who addressed the board were for the program and opposed to the referendum. The board voted 6-1 to reject the citizens' committee recommendation for a referendum. The majority of the board members, echoing the 1964 board, said that it was the responsibility of the board to decide on the program. The board also voted to continue for another year the children now attending and to review the program every February.

West Irondequoit Board of Education

During the years following the adoption of the ICE program, the West Irondequoit school board and administrative staff pursued many avenues of evaluation of the program and of dissemination of that information to the public. During the times of the most intense controversy about the program, the board tried to disassociate itself from those groups which formed outside the educational community such as FORE, the Committee for Inter-Cultural Education, Inc., etc., in an attempt to separate the merits of the program as an educational experience from the emotional reactions which the program evoked. Board members spoke to those groups that requested them to explain the program and used the board's newsletter to inform the community of what it was hoped the program could do. Periodically, over the entire span of its existence, the program has been evaluated both by in-house and by outside evaluators, and the results have been made available to the community. Much effort has gone into trying factually to allay fears of increased costs to the district and of overcrowded classes, as well as to emphasize the academic performance of the minority children and the positive educational experience which the program provided both for the West Irondequoit children and for the city children.

Each year, though, the program was in jeopardy when it came time for the board to consider how many, or if any, new children should be allowed to come into the district the following fall. At least until the early 1970s, the question also continued to be debated as to whether the program should be continued for those minority children already in schools in the district. Although overt opposition to the program began to diminish by that time, the program still was not established on a firm base because its continuance then, as before, depended on state and federal funding being available to keep the program viable.

A major factor in West Irondequoit's continuing to serve as a receiving district may have been the institution of Project Unique in the Rochester City School District. Under this project, the urban-suburban transfer of students expanded to other suburban districts, and West Irondequoit was no longer alone as the sole suburban district voluntarily accepting minority students. Also, there emerged during this period an administrator of the program who was dedicated not only to continuing this program, but to expanding it throughout Monroe County.

Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program

Project Unique Influence

While West Irondequoit supporters of the program struggled in the 1960s to keep the program from faltering or being eliminated completely, within the Rochester City School District, Norman Gross combined the opportunity as administrator of the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program and his commitment to integration as a positive educational experience to build upon the innovative program which West Irondequoit had initiated.

Gross had served as administrator of the Rochester City School District's Open Enrollment Program which had begun in 1964 as an attempt to encourage integration on a volutary basis within the city and which served as the mechanism available to implement West Irondequoit's invitation for minority children to come into its district. The year after West Irondequoit accepted its first students, the suburban district of Brighton and the Campus School at the State University College at Brockport invited elementary students to attend their regular day schools. The cost of sending these 138 students to the three districts was funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 (as had been the 24 students in 1965 to West Irondequoit).[33]

In 1967, a large-scale, innovative program, designed to reduce racial imbalance and improve urban education, was funded under ESEA Title III.[34] One of the nine components of Project Unique was the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program. It is said that the successful implementation of the West Irondequoit's receiving program was the basis for the design of this particular component. The overall objective of USITP was to implement and administer programs designed to reduce racial isolation in the County of Monroe, including the City of Rochester. Other specific objectives included:

> To improve the racial attitudes of Whites and non-Whites in the sending and receiving schools.
>
> To increase suburban involvement in solutions to racial isolation in the schools and in intercultural enrichment programs that could affect the larger community.
>
> To prepare receiving teachers for transferring students in relation to: (a) an understanding of the culture of the inner-city children and (b) guidance and intervention techniques which are essential in developing appropriate interaction between inner-city and suburban children.
>
> To prepare children in both sending and receiving schools for the transfer.[35]

Gross was also to act as administrator of this component of Project Unique. Because of its innovative approaches to educational programs and the large sums of federal funds available to implement such programs, Project Unique generated a great deal of interest in the City of Rochester and in the suburbs. Norman Gross and his staff worked actively to expand the urban-suburban program into more suburbs.

Summer schools were often the first tentative steps for suburban districts to test the waters of racial integration; some summer students' tuition was paid by PTA scholarships. In summer 1967, nearly 500 city children participated in such summer school sessions. Not all who invited minority children for summer session, however, went on to include inner-city children in their regular day school programs. Public school districts that did institute these programs suffered, in general, from the same kind of resistance in varying degrees of magnitude that had been evident in West Irondequoit. The issue became paramount in some school board elections, and many of the same fears expressed in West Irondequoit surfaced in those communities that were considering being part of the urban-suburban transfer program. While officials in the Rochester City School District were encouraging suburban districts to join the program, opponents to the program were not adverse to crossing school district boundaries to be heard. One instance in 1967 which drew a reprimand from the news media involved a group of opponents from the West Irondequoit Central School District disrupting a Gates-Chili Human Relations Council forum that had convened to discuss urban-suburban cooperation in education.

While some districts were debating whether to become part of the program on the elementary level, at the high school level, "live-in" exchanges were continuing (particularly between Penfield and Madison and Brighton and Madison). A student organization, the Student Union for Integrated Education (SUIE), was formed in 1967 by Black and White, urban and suburban, public and nonpublic school students and included community college students as members. Their advisor was Norman Gross who had been instrumental in getting the group started. SUIE members met frequently to discuss the problems of integration in education. Members went out into the community to speak to various groups, as well as worked in their individual schools for integrated educational experiences. It is reported that this student group was instrumental in persuading the Board of Education of the Penfield Central School District to become part of the program. By the 1968-69 school year, four more suburban districts--Penfield, Wheatland-Chili, Pittsford, and Brockport Central School Districts--and some parochial and private schools had begun to invite minority children into their regular day school programs.

During the three years that Project Unique was formally in operation, the number of urban-suburban students increased from 214 (1967-68) to 555 (1969-70). Project Unique ESEA Title III funds allocated to the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program increased from $207,176 (1967-68) to $438,100 (1969-70). (See following table.)

Table 3

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
West Irondequoit	24	49	64	74
Brighton		57	57	60
Brockport Campus		32	80	112
Penfield			2	35
Parochial			11	68
Brockport Central				4
Wheatland-Chili				14
Pittsford				50
Total Number of Pupils	24	138	214	417
Amount Funded	$9,840* 14,720** $24,560	$12,750* 84,623** $97,373	$121,800* 85,376** $207,176	$226,850* 127,273** $354,123
Source of Funding	Title I - ESEA	Title I - ESEA	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)

*Program

**Transportation

Table 3 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding
1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
West Irondequoit	87	97	85	85
Brighton	60	97	92	92
Brockport Campus	150	115	67	67
Penfield	45	52	38	38
Parochial	84	91	101	101
Brockport Central	1	--	--	--
Wheatland-Chili	28	41	40	40
Pittsford	100	125	103	102
Total Number of Pupils	555	618	526	525

	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Amount Funded	$329,700* 108,400** $438,100	$386,775* 166,226** $553,001	$365,000* 200,906** $565,906	$411,547* 195,524** $607,071
Source of Funding	Title III - ESEA (Project Unique)	State Division of Intercultural Relations: $280,000; State Urban Education: $217,000; City School District: $56,001.	Title III - ESEA: $310,000; State Urban Education: $255,906.	Title III - ESEA: $295,000; State Urban Education: $312,071.

*Program

**Transportation

Table 3 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding
1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
West Irondequoit	101	92	100	138
Brighton	94	89	83	98
Brockport Campus	48	44	45	98
Penfield	64	57	45	47
Parochial	82	146	216	207
Brockport Central	5	6	14	13
Wheatland-Chili	26	26	19	19
Webster	1	--	--	--
Pittsford	122	116	116	123
Metropolitan World of Inquiry	275	275	54	--
Total Number of Pupils	818	851	692	743

Amount Funded	$1,795,340* 406,147** $2,201,487	$1,568,879* 447,944** $2,016,823	$488,011* 300,000** $788,011	$861,177* 300,000** $1,161,177
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA: $1,906,487; Title III - ESEA: $295,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $516,823; Basic: $1,500,000.	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects: $371,022; Basic: $116,989.	Title VII - ESAA Discretionary

*Program

**Transportation

Table 3 (Cont.)

Urban-Suburban Program--Pupil Enrollment and Funding 1965-1980

Number of Urban-Suburban Pupils per School District	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80†
West Irondequoit	144	160	179
Brighton	113	122	132
USCIE	214††	186	258
Penfield	50	69	73
Parochial	206	241	267
Rochester Christian School (Penfield)	25	32	21
New Covenant Christian School (Webster)	--	18	20
Brockport Central	18	20	19
Wheatland-Chili	20	37	40
Pittsford	139	171	166
World of Inquiry	2	6	11
Other Rochester city schools	--	--	27
Total Number of Pupils	932	1,062	1,213

	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80†
Amount Funded	$1,176,781* 300,000** $1,476,781	$1,086,717* 300,000** $1,386,717	$1,713,503* 300,000** 50,000*** $2,063,503
Source of Funding	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects	Title VII - ESAA Special Projects

*Program

**Governor's Grant - State

***Supplementary Budget - State

Source: Office of the Urban-Suburban Program

† Enrollment as of January 1, 1980.

†† The figures for this year and subsequent years include both urban and suburban children transported to USCIE (formerly Brockport Campus).

Other Funding Sources

It was the general philosophy of the U. S. Office of Education to fund Title III projects for a three-year period. When the three years were up in 1970, Project Unique survived as an entity by incorporating as a nonprofit organization. The Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program was one of a reduced number of components to be continued under Project Unique.

The loss of Title III funds meant that the program had to find other sources of funds to continue to function. In the 1970-71 school year, New York State Division of Intercultural Relations, State Urban Education, and Rochester City School District funds continued the program for 618 children. Gross was able to obtain funding once again under ESEA Title III for the school years 1971-72 and 1972-73, supplemented by State Urban Education funds which the city again chose to use.

A proposal was written for the 1973-74 school year for funding under Title VII of the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA) of 1972.[36] Because the Rochester City School District, with 50 percent of its schools now minority schools and its reorganization plans overturned,[37] was not eligible to receive an interdistrict grant under the provisions of this act, administration of the program was shifted from the Rochester City School District to West Irondequoit. The West Irondequoit Central School District is now the Local Educational Agency (LEA), with the superintendent of the West Irondequoit Central School District acting on behalf of a Monroe County Suburban Consortium (composed of the receiving school districts, the Rochester Catholic Diocese, and the State University College at Brockport). ESAA continues to fund the program, except for transportation. When the so-called Byrd Amendment was passed in 1974 prohibiting the use of federal funds for transportation of students or teachers to implement any racial desegregation plan, Gross turned to the state. Monroe County legislators helped to secure state funding for transportation, and this funding arrangement still continues. Securing funds yearly has been time-consuming as well as threatening to the program's viability. Starting with the 1980-81 school year, a five-year funding proposal has been written which, if approved, could be a major step toward institutionalizing the program as it is now administered in the West Irondequoit Central School District.

Neutral Site Schools

One of the results of efforts to reduce racial imbalance in schools has been the altering of the composition of schools' student bodies. An influx of children from outside a school's geographical boundaries means that the school may no longer reflect the racial and/or social structure of the neighborhood. Minority children thus suffer not only from the Black/White dichotomy, but also from an outsider/resident dichotomy.

The World of Inquiry School, a component of Project Unique, was the first attempt to address one of those dichotomies. It was established as a magnet-type, neutral-site school which drew its students from throughout the city rather than from a single area. Two neutral-site schools have also been adjuncts of USITP. One, the Campus School operated by the New York State University College at Brockport and now known as the Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education (USCIE), has developed on the format of an existing school. The other, the Metropolitan World of Inquiry School, was a short-lived venture based on a metropolitan concept of integrated education and patterned after the World of Inquiry School in the Rochester school district. The relationships between USITP and these two schools are discussed in separate reports in this study.[38]

Project US

USITP is now commonly referred to as Project US. The use of the urban-suburban initials (U-S) as a single unit (US) was instituted a few years ago as an attempt to counteract the "we" versus "they" dichotomy of city and suburb, Black and White. However, the events of this past year have not been conducive to expanding the program or to promoting harmony in either of these areas of concern.

The 1979-80 proposal for funding included a plan for making this program two-way (i.e., bringing suburban children into city schools as well as taking city children to suburban schools). A solely one-way student exchange had been highly criticized in the past by some, mainly city people, who have labeled it a "brain drain" of the best of the Black students and who have seen the existing program as placing the burden for integration on the Black students.[39] Conversely, strong sentiment has existed in the suburbs against a two-way exchange which it was feared might be based on involuntary transportation of White students into the city. The proposed two-way transfer, however, did please Washington administrators of the program, and the program was granted almost $600,000 more than the previous year. When the 1979-80 state budget granted only the usual $300,000 for transportation, Project US lobbied through its district assemblyman for additional funds for transportation. Gross contended that the extra $50,000 acquired was allocated to expand Project US. He announced that Project US would institute "Operation Enrichment," a program designed to persuade 100 suburban children to go to city schools. Doubting that he could get that number of suburban students for the first year, he began to sign up additional city children to come to the suburbs in order to utilize these extra funds.

Unknown to Gross, the State Education Department had informed Harvey Granite, head of Urban Funded Programs for the Rochester school district, that, in allocating the additional $50,000 for transportation funds, the first priority should be to bring White suburban children into city schools. Granite obtained a number of names from Gross (the exact number was later in dispute) of pupils who had signed up under Operation Enrichment to review for placement purposes. In the meantime, Gross signed up 97 additional city students (over the number that would have been recruited under the original $300,000) to come to the suburbs.

While recruitment efforts were going on, the Rochester City School District decided that the number of Black students going to the suburbs would not be increased unless an equal number of White students were to come from the suburbs into the city schools. Also, when the Rochester City School District announced that the 38 suburban children who had been signed up to come into city schools would be given priority in using the additional $50,000 transportation money, it became apparent that Granite and Gross had been operating under different assumptions on the use of these funds; the $50,000 would not be adequate to provide transportation for all those children who had been promised places in schools outside their own districts. The resulting controversy exploded into media headlines. An initial compromise whereby the 38 White children would go into the city and 38 of the additional Black children would go to the suburbs provided but a temporary pause in the conflict. Since there were still Black children who had been promised space in suburban classrooms, that remained an unresolved issue. The state finally promised the Rochester City School District some additional funds to transport children to suburban schools; and the Rochester City School District agreed to transport the rest of the Black children to suburban schools which, by now, were already in session.

There still is a transportation question that remains unclarified. In spring 1979, the state legislature passed a bill which would require the City of Rochester to bus children to schools outside of the district. The bill had been passed primarily for the benefit of private and parochial school children. At the time of the urban-suburban transfer controversy, however, a class action suit was brought by parents contending that this legislation could be construed to mean that transportation must be provided to all students who attend schools outside the district, including suburban public schools. The Rochester City School District's agreeing to transport the remaining Black children rendered this particular case moot, but it is not clear whether the Rochester City School District might have to transport every child that Project US signs up, regardless of the city's desire to limit the program to a one-on-one exchange.

Although each side eventually transported its complement of students, the underlying controversy remains. The Rochester City School District has called for a federal investigation of Gross' operation, and Gross has asked for an audit of the Rochester City School District's use of the transportation funds to ensure that such funds have been properly expended only for Project US.

While the total number of students enrolled under the urban-suburban program has grown from the modest number of 24 in 1973-74 to over 1,000 in 1978-79, the number of receiving school districts has not increased. A few more nonpublic schools have accepted small numbers of children, but no new districts have become part of the urban-suburban program in the past ten years. One district that seriously considered joining the program in spring 1979 discovered that the same emotional climate exists today as was evidenced in West Irondequoit in the 1960s and that bitter controversy could still be evoked on the racial integration issue. Efforts by Gross over the years to bring the Webster school district into the program finally led to that district's appointing a committee to consider the matter. The committee recommended (in 1978) that at least 25 minority children be invited to attend Webster's elementary schools. The matter was debated for nearly a year after the committee's recommendation while supporters and opponents gathered forces. Supporters who encouraged the program were drawn from leaders of groups such as the teacher's association, churches, and the League of Women Voters. A questionnaire mailed to each home in the school district brought a response of 953 answers, 75 percent of which opposed the transfer program. In March, the Webster school board voted 4-1 not to participate in Project US.

That same month, the Board of Education of Brighton, a participating district, voted to continue accepting 12 to 15 students each year. However, it also voted to stop expansion of the program when about 200 students, or 5 percent of the student population, are enrolled in the district.

Although about 1,100 minority students were transported to the suburbs last year, as of July 1979, approximately 1,000 more students had applied to the program. What has happened in Webster has obviously been a set-back for the program in terms of hoped-for expansion into other districts, and Brighton's action of limiting the total number of students may well evoke similar actions in other school districts. Even if additional places are found each year for some of those students wishing to become part of the program, the numbers actually transported could be severely limited unless there is an increase in funds for transportation.

While the urban-suburban program strives to maintain its viability and to expand its effectiveness, its supporters can take satisfaction in the fact that the program achieved a milestone in 1977. Students who entered West Irondequoit's first grades full-time in 1967 were in West Irondequoit's 1977 graduating classes, the first group of minority students to have completed their elementary and secondary education under this program.

Conclusions

Innovation that provokes emotional response may be expected to emphasize certain stages of innovation over others. The earlier the public is informed, the earlier the stage at which opposition is likely to emerge. Early public cognizance might thus emphasize the adoption stage, and the innovation might have difficulty reaching the later stages (or never reach them). Because of the timing of public announcement, the urban-suburban program is an innovation in which the emphasis was, and continues to be, on the implementation stage. It is also an innovation where coalitions within and without the educational environment have been important in the adoption and implementation stages and where the role of bureaucratic entrepreneur(s) has changed actors as the innovation has progressed from adoption to implementation. It seems a fair assessment to say that it is also an innovation which, fifteen years after its adoption, still has not been fully incorporated into this particular educational system. Its continuing dependence on external funding, the emotions it can still arouse in opponents, and the recent controversy about where the locus of administration should be tends to keep Project US from becoming a solidly entrenched program.

In retrospect, the manner in which the members of the board of education progressed through the awareness, search, and adoption stages made it inevitable that the implementation stage would be the focus of public opinion. Awareness of a concern was stimulated by an external force--the directive of the New York State Commissioner of Education on racial imbalance. This directive may have served to awaken the social consciences of the respective board members, or it may have reinforced existing sentiment to provoke action. In any case, the directive does seem to have been the catalyst for innovative action by the board. The board members obviously were aware of the current of opposition that would be likely to surface if such a program were adopted, as evidenced by their quiet investigation of the legal aspects, the adjourned board meetings at which only board members and administrative staff were present, and the admonition to groups from whom they sought opinions not to publicize the matter. Adoption of the resolution for West Irondequoit Central School District to serve as a receiving school for minority children was relatively easy, given the consensus of the board members and the positive feedback that they had elicited from selected groups. It is highly probable that they did not accurately assess the intensity of the community response to their actions, either in terms of the program itself or the manner in which they adopted it. Given the vehemence of the opposition which followed the announcement, one can surmise that, had the board chosen to allow the community to make the decision, the program would never have been adopted. If the board had not also chosen to stand firm on its right to adopt the program, it is likely that the program would not have been implemented. Implementation has been mainly a function of funding and the persistence of supporters of the program as they have struggled to keep the program viable and have built (and resisted) coalitions.

Funding Influence

The availability of funds made the program palatable at the time of adoption and has been the most important factor in keeping it going. No matter how much philosophical support may exist for the program, if federal and state funds had not been available, or if they were now to be withdrawn, the program would not exist. No school district, including the Rochester City School District, would have considered participating in the program, nor would it continue to do so today, if the program cost the school district money. Money has been an inducement to join the program. School districts have received a payment for each student accepted, and transportation costs all have been paid (first from federal funds, later from state funds). Over the years, newspaper articles have reported tax savings to suburban districts because of the additional revenue coming into the district. Since the state aid to local school districts carries a "save harmless" clause, the Rochester City School District has not lost money because children have left its district.

The amount of funding, of course, has limited the number of children that can be accommodated within the program. The increased funding available under the umbrella of Project Unique expanded the capability of the program during those years when that project was most active. (The aura of Project Unique's scale and innovativeness may also have had an influence on bringing districts into the program, since the rest of the participating districts joined during the years of Project Unique.)

Funding for the program has continued to be a problem, as proposals have been necessary on a yearly basis. Funding sources and amounts granted each year have fluctuated. Disallowal of federal funds for transportation costs has meant dealing with another level of government--the State of New York--also on a year-to-year basis. This state money, earmarked for transportation for Project Us, goes to the Rochester City School District which contracts for the actual transportation of the students. Project US is thus dependent upon the federal government for operating expenses and the payment to the districts for each student accepted; upon the state for transportation funds; and upon the Rochester City School District for provision of the transportation.

Coalition Building

Issues with the emotional impact of racial integration in the abstract may not mobilize forces to any large extent. But, when substantive efforts are proposed to do something about racial imbalance, there are few people who are indifferent or neutral in their response to such action. Not all will be in the forefront to be counted as supporters or opponents of the proposed action; but the vast majority will coalesce, covertly or overtly, about the two poles of such an issue. In implementing this urban-suburban transfer plan, there have been some clearly defined coalitions, but there have also been amorphous coalitions whose sentiments have been manifested by indirect means such as the casting of ballots.

The efforts to secure the consent of the State Education Department and the administrators of the Rochester City School District were all necessary to adoption of the program, but this was relatively low-key coalition-building. The idea of this program was nourished in a supportive environment (the New York State and Rochester City School District educational systems) where there already existed a commitment to reducing racial imbalance. The West Irondequoit school district made a somewhat limited attempt (i.e., limited by its desire to forestall public announcement) to build support for its actions when it made some community leaders and the ITA privy to its plans. Except for enlisting the PTAs to disseminate information and to assist the minority children coming into the district, the board of education members did not overtly build coalitions thereafter to implement the program. During the initial controversy, the board members presented a profile of a cohesive group. Opponents were unable to point to any individual board member or any combination of board members as being primarily responsible for the adoption of the program or as being in the forefront of implementation procedures. (One can only speculate as to the informal interactions between board of education members and other supporters of the program. A number of ex-board members were part of The Committee for Intercultural Education, Inc., formed in 1968). Those groups that did come into existence to support the program (such as SPICE, FORE, etc.) were spearheaded by individuals either from the community or from the city, and the groups were essentially formed as responses to those forces which mobilized to oppose the program.

Hickey, in publicly critizing the manner of adoption of the program, served as a focal person about whom opponents could coalesce once the announcement of the program was made. Etter, et al., also came to the forefront of the opposition as they became the plaintiffs of record in legal actions. There is, however, a sense of there being many opponents of the program who were not part of any formal protest movement, but who nonetheless were vehemently opposed to the board's action. It is, no doubt, more difficult to publicly be against a program that has been instituted on the basis of moral imperatives. The "rightness" of the board of education's stance, backed by the educational and legal systems' blessing, would make it difficult for many people to oppose the program publicly because they did not want minority children brought into their district. Opposition thus was registered in less direct confrontations, as evidenced by the vote on budgets and board candidates. Other expressed concerns such as lack of citizen input to the board's action, inadequate classroom space, etc., also may have served as vehicles of protest to cloak the basic issue.

After the resolution was passed in 1965, the cohesiveness of the board of education broke down as board members began to be elected on the basis of their support or opposition to the program. Most incumbent board members declined to seek reelection; and, as anti-program candidates won seats on the board, the composition of the board changed. As soon as two opponents were seated, there was in existence a coalition of five members in support of the program and another, smaller coalition actively against the program. These coalitions shifted strength as more opponents to the program were elected, until, in 1968, the potential existed to alter or terminate the program. Instead, a spirit of compromise prevailed, and the program continued. Time itself may have been an ally of the program. The emotional involvement manifested at the beginning of the program had continued, but its intensity may have been blunted by the fact that the relatively small number of minority children brought into the district did not have any drastic impact on West Irondequoit's educational environment. Being a board member may also have brought a different perspective to educational concerns than did being a single-issue candidate. In any event, board members finally called a halt to the pervasive and divisive influence of the issue.

Those coalitions which have evolved around this program have had a common component. They have formed about opposite views of the issue, cross-cutting every other organizational or social tie. For example, although clergy and ITA officers might approve of the program, parishioners and ITA members did not necessarily share the same viewpoint as their leaders. Those coalitions from the 1960s and early 1970s have been of varying duration; some existed for as short a period as two weeks. All Parents Together (APT) seems to be the only citizen group that is still in existence. Its activities have diminished over time; however, it would be ready to serve as a base for building support for the program should it be needed.

This is not to imply that coalition-building has ceased. Gross, in his function as administrator of the program, has actively employed coalition-building as an effective means of furthering the aims of the urban-suburban program. During his involvement with this program, he has worked with students, teachers, teacher unions, advisory committees, superintendents, and other available individuals or groups to promote the urban-suburban program. These relationships have often been loosely knit and informal and have shifted over the years. Exceptions have been: (1) the present association of the program with the West Irondequoit school district where joint efforts of the district administrators and Gross seek to keep the program in West Irondequoit; and (2) interrelationships between the participants in the Consortium and Gross, who have shared a long-term interest in keeping the program viable. The kind of supportive services and technical assistance that Gross is able to provide from the program's federal funds and from its alliance with the New York State Division of Intercultural Understanding is a means of building good will in those districts that are part of the program.

There also seems to exist a nascent coalition among those districts that participate in Project US. There is an implicit, arbitrary division of Monroe County's school districts into eastern and western districts. Those in the eastern part are generally viewed as more affluent districts, with a higher percentage of professional people than the more rural western districts. The existence of two BOCES (one in the eastern part of the county and one in the western part) further partitions the county. Most of the participating districts in Project US are from the eastern part of the county. It is reported that at meetings there is often a natural separation into two groups: those from the eastern part and those from the western part of the county. However, it is also reported that superintendents from the two participating districts in the western part of the county (Brockport and Wheatland-Chili) often join the eastern superintendents' group at meetings because of their mutual identification with this program.

In the past, supporters of this program have been both Blacks and Whites from the city and the suburbs, while opposition to the program has been, in general, from the suburban White population. Administrators in the Rochester City School District have now raised the issue of Black "brain drain," claiming that the brightest of the Black students are selected for programs such as Project US and that there is little or no reciprocity in the transfer of students between the city and the suburbs. This viewpoint is apparently gaining sympathy among some segments both of Whites and of Blacks. There are also Blacks who oppose programs such as the urban-suburban program, not because of the lack of reciprocity, but because their goal is to have Black children remain in their own Black-controlled community schools and not be encouraged to sit next to White children or to adopt White values. Whether condemning the very philosophy of the program or merely the way it is conducted, these critics have one theme in common: opposition to the present urban-suburban program. The potential exists for some kind of collective effort to effect changes in this attempt at integration.

It should be noted that the media has closely chronicled the unfolding events of this program. Over the years, the program has been the focus of many newspaper articles, and, of course, the public controversies have received wide publicity. It would be impossible to assess accurately the impact of the media. However, newspaper editorials have covered the spectrum of approval/disapproval. The board of education's refusal to allow the referendum in 1965 was editorially criticized, as was the "secrecy" of adoption of this program. In more recent years, however, newspaper editors have chided those districts that have chosen not to participate in the program. There has also been a recent editorial criticizing the urban-suburban and city school district administrators for their problems in communication and urging that they work harder to make the urban-suburban program a two-way program.

Entrepreneurship

As a group, the West Irondequoit Board of Education functioned as entrepreneur in initiating the urban-suburban program. It has previously been described how it progressed through the various stages of innovation. Its strength in seeing the program through to implementation lay in its cohesiveness, its common consensus on the moral propriety of putting the program into action in West Irondequoit. Two factors made it possible for it to seriously consider such a program. First, it had the support of the educational system in its efforts to address the concern of racial imbalance. No one with regulative or funding authority blocked its proposed action. In fact, it found encouragement to proceed. Second, the board of education itself had the political capacity to move the innovation through the various stages. The desire to institute the urban-suburban program was complemented by the power to do so.

Attempts to "sell" the program were carefully orchestrated to make the program as palatable as possible. In the early years, it was touted as a cultural enrichment program for the West Irondequoit students who would be experiencing the "real world" of mixed ethnic groups.

"They" were seen as enhancing the educational experience of West Irondequoit children. This particular cloak of palatability would later diminish as the program became more openly an "US" program and as the Rochester City School District objected to its being a one-way program.

After adoption and the earliest period of implementation of the program, the board of education rather quickly lost its role as entrepreneur. The members of the board who still supported the program became not so much entrepreneurs as "retainers," striving to keep the program from being terminated. The West Irondequoit Board of Education (and Gross) have made concerted efforts to provide factual evaluation of the effects of the program. Such evaluations, which have in general been favorable to the program, probably have not had much influence on defusing the emotional climate which has surrounded the program.

Gross had earned a reputation as a civil rights activist when he was involved in teacher union actities in the Rochester City School District. As a teacher of social studies, he had initiated interracial classroom learning experiences within the city school district, as well as some limited urban-suburban exchanges. On the basis of his interest in promoting racial integration and the success of his efforts in that area, he was asked to serve as administrator of the Open Enrollment program in 1964 and, in 1967, as administrator of USITP for Project Unique. As the urban-suburban program continued, Gross came to be ever more closely identified with the program. He has struggled to find the funds to keep the program going and has campaigned to bring more districts and nonpublic schools into active participation. In the eyes of many (especially critics), the program is Gross' program, and the inseparability of the man and the program has led to animosity towards Gross, personally, in some instances. Gross obviously could not have functioned effectively without support from the administrators of the Rochester City School District and, now that the program is located in West Irondequoit, support from the superintendent and the board of education of that district. That support, plus the availability of funding, has provided a base from which he could push forward with his goals for the program.

Gross is completely dedicated to the urban-suburban program and to its furtherance by every possible means. His influence has been felt in many school districts as he has worked towards building support for the program. Acting as entrepreneur of this kind of a program has earned him praise; but it has also made him a controversial figure, as emotions continue to swirl about the racial integration issue and as West Irondequoit and the Rochester City School District engage in a power struggle as to the future structure of the program and the base for its operation.

The roles of entrepreneurs and coalitions have been a prominent part of the history of this innovation. Indeed, these entrepreneurs and supportive coalitions may have been absolutely crucial to the very existence of the program, given the emotional climate that has ebbed and waned over the span of the program. Coalitions are now still being developed, but in an informal and less clearly defined fashion.

Supportive groups, particularly in the educational environment, are necessary just to maintain the program. This kind of program will also continue to require a dedicated and aggressive administrator to maintain the momentum which has been so laboriously achieved. Any increase in the number of districts participating will likely require extensive attention from both educational and community leaders within the district and from the administrator of Project US to the building of supportive coalitions. For the program to gain acceptance within a district, however, it is probably essential that the impetus for action comes, at least overtly, from within the school district itself.

Future of Project US

After fifteen years, the urban-suburban program still retains a tenuousness about its existence that underlies the contention that the program has not truly been incorporated into the Monroe County educational system. Although it has grown in the number of students served and dollars expended, it has existed on a year-to-year basis. If, however, the current proposal for five-year funding is approved, that will be a step towards providing a degree of stability and will allow longer-range planning. In the past years, the transportation funds from the state have been part of the governor's supplemental budget. However, for the state's 1980-81 fiscal year, these funds have been included for the first time in the regular budget. This is an important step toward ensuring future state support for the program.

The cooperation of the Rochester City School District is crucial to the continuance of the program, and its demands for reciprocity in transporting children may significantly affect the present composition of the program. Equally important is the continued participation of suburban school districts. The recent Webster controversy demonstrated that opponents are still there in numbers large enough to block entry into the program. Conceivably, a movement to cease participation in the program could arise if there were opponents in a school district sufficiently motivated to begin such a campaign.

Although controversy may threaten the stability of the program, there are other factors which would make it difficult to terminate the program. Broadly speaking, the program came into being because the educational environment had become conducive to redressing racial imbalance and because external funding was available to further integrative efforts. This is still true today. Federal and state funds are still flowing for the needs of programs designed to overcome segregated schools; and the educational environment is, in general, not only favorably disposed to encourage actions to correct racial imbalance, but also, in some instances, under legal pressure to do so. The Rochester City School District has been under federal scrutiny in terms of possible racial discrimination in housing and education. Of 126,988 students enrolled in schools in Monroe County, 24,081 are minority students. More than seventy-five percent of all students in the county attend schools that are either ninety percent minority or ninety percent White. Minority students constitute fifty-six percent of the city schools' enrollment, but less than four percent in the suburbs.[40] While the urban-suburban program has not made a major contribution to the reduction of segregation in the Rochester City School District, its very existence, coupled with Rochester's inter-city efforts such as Open Enrollment, is evidence that city and county school districts have at least attempted to do something about racial imbalance.

The West Irondequoit School District achieved prominence as being in the forefront of voluntary integration efforts, and the Rochester City School District has shared in the attention given to this program. The three voluntary programs (Project US, Project Concern, and METCO) have attracted national and state attention and commendation. This recognition may well have been a factor in the program's being continued in its early years. For any district to withdraw from the program now would mean, at a minimum, local publicity. Were Project US to be terminated now, national attention would be focused on the school districts.

Suburban school districts that have participated in the program have also found it to be to their monetary advantage. In some instances, the tuition payments for their invited "educational residents"[41] have been generous enough to result in a reduced school tax rate. Also, with declining student populations, these extra children help to keep state aid payments up and schools open.

At the moment, the incentives are sufficient to keep Project US viable. What direction it may take in the future is open to conjecture. Emotional or practical considerations may affect the program, either to jeopardize or to stabilize its existence. A major question is what the Rochester City School District will choose to do (or will be forced to do) about the extensive racial imbalance in its schools. One solution, possibly court mandated, could be a countywide desegregation effort. The urban-suburban program could serve as a basis for such an expanded transportation plan. The intrinsic value of Project US thus might be manifested in those districts that have been participating in the program. Those school districts with interdistrict transportation experience might more readily adapt to an involuntary program with less trauma than those school districts which have resisted being part of Project US.

NOTES

1. Project Unique (United Now for Integrated Quality Urban-Suburban Education) was a large-scale plan designed to reduce racial imbalance and improve urban education.

2. Because of the emotional climate which still exists today in regard to the transportation of students across school district lines and the administration of this program, the interviews that were conducted were private interviews and are not referenced in this report. Information from interviews has been verified, insofar as possible, by documentation from newspaper libraries, school district and USITP records, and other written materials.

3. Basic proposal, 1978-79, "Application for Federal Assistance from Emergency School Aid Act, Title VI of PL 92-318 for Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Plan (Project US)," Part IV, p. 2.

4. *Newsletter* of West Irondequoit Central School District No. 37, April 1965.

5. Open Enrollment was expected to further desegregation. Instead, it resulted in greater segregation as White students, given the option, were transferring from predominantly Black schools to predominantly White schools in other parts of the city. Later, the city school district adopted a policy of permitting voluntary transfer only if it did not further segregate city schools.

6. Minutes of the West Irondequoit Central School District Board of Education meeting, August 12, 1963.

7. Ibid., Special Meeting, July 20, 1964.

8. Ibid., Regular Meeting, November 9, 1964.

9. Ibid., Adjourned Meeting, February 15, 1965.

10. Ibid., Adjourned Meeting, March 31, 1965.

11. *Newsletter*, *op*. *cit*.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. *The Times-Union*, April 29, 1965.

15. *The Times-Union*, April 29, 1965; *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 30, 1965.

16. *The Times-Union*, April 29, 1965.

17. *The Times-Union*, May 11, 1965.

18. *The Times-Union*, May 13, 1965.

19. Ibid.

20. Records of the West Irondequoit Central School District.

21. *The Times-Union*, February 24, 1966.

22. *The Times-Union*, June 1, 1967.

23. Records of the West Irondequoit Central School District.

24. Doyle O. Etter, in the forefront of the opposition to the intercultural enrichment program, ran for the school board in 1966 and again in 1967 without success; although, in each of those years, an antiprogram candidate did win a seat.

25. Records of the West Irondequoit Central School District.

26. *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 9, 1967.

27. *The Times-Union*, June 12, 1968.

28. *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 8 and May 9, 1965.

29. *The Times-Union*, May 28, 1969.

30. *The Times-Union*, September 10, 1968.

31. *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 6, 1969.

32. *The Times-Union*, February 28, 1969.

33. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided for noncompetitive formula grants based on the number of low-income children residing in a school district, such sums to be distributed through the states.

34. ESEA Title III funds were available for supplementary educational centers and services in order to stimulate and assist in provision of vitally needed educational services and in development and establishment of elementary and secondary school programs to serve as models for regular school programs.

35. "Metropolitan Desegregation--An Answer to the Skeptics," a presentation by Norman Gross to the Second Annual Desegregation Conference sponsored by the New Jersey State Department of Education and Trenton State College, May 9 and 10, 1977.

36. ESAA Title VII funds are available to qualifying school districts which are implementing integration plans, either voluntarily or by court order.

37. In 1971, as a result of community pressures, the Rochester City School District Board of Education decided to integrate the school district by redrawing district lines to correct de facto segregation. The intent was to achieve racial balance in secondary schools that fall, and plans were under consideration for gradual desegregation of elementary schools. The reorganization plan was negated one year later when the composition of the Board of Education changed; mandatory busing of secondary students was halted, and the elementary organization plan was voted down.

38. Elma Boyko, "Urban-Suburban Center for Innovation in Education" and "Metropolitan World of Inquiry School," January 1980.

39. Of course, there has been limited "reverse" busing over the years, as some suburban students came into the city to attend certain city schools such as the World of Inquiry School.

40. Democrat and Chronicle, July 1, 1979.

41. "Educational resident" is the term chosen to identify the student in this program who attends school in a district other than the district in which he/she resides.